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CHINA

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CHINA

BY

Y. L. LIANG

Formerly Professor of International Law at Soochow University, Shanghai, and at the Central Political Institute, Nanking; Technical Adviser to the Chinese Delegation at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco Conferences

AND

NEVILLE WHYMANT

Sometime Davis Chinese Scholar, University of Oxford.
Sometime Lecturer in Chinese and Japanese, University of London.
Sometime Professor of Oriental Literature and Philosophy, Hosei University, Tokyo

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PREFACE

It has hitherto been the habit of Western peoples to adopt one of two views of China and to hold to that view almost passionately. Either China was a quaint wonderland, in which whimsicality struggled with a topsy-turvydom forever, or she was a somewhat vague and shadowy part of the East in which great thinkers had flourished and great arts had been born—but still with a great measure of the incomprehensible and never to be completely understood. It never seemed to the ordinary person reasonable to expect to understand China!

This state of affairs is changing. China, the country, has been found to be much as other lands are, and her people no less human or humanistic than those of other countries. In our own day we have seen men and women, in khaki or blue, gaily undertaking the study of Far East languages and literatures with no more preoccupation than they would give to entering for a course of German or French. More than this, the comradeship in arms of many nations in the recent struggle has taught the ordinary citizen that, with a little effort, he can readily become acquainted with what China has been, is, and will eventually be.

This change of attitude is welcomed by the Chinese. There is little satisfaction to be gained from being complimented as quaint, but a deep and abiding joy in being one of the important entities in the family of nations working for the ultimate solidarity of mankind. Nothing could sound better in Chinese ears than the phrase "United Nations"; nothing could be more truly worth while than striving for its realization.

It is gratifying to note the growing realization that the ancient thinkers were right in postulating the existence of eternal verities. The numerous parallels between Chinese thought and that of the thinkers of the West which so surprised and delighted many of the early European visitors to China are now seen as common ground upon which the

nations can securely build that new world for which humanity is waiting. Burns was as Chinese as he was Scots when he wrote "A man's a man for a' that".

In introducing the foregoing work to the English-reading public, therefore, I would not lay stress on any part of it to the exclusion of the rest. We Chinese, like the ancient Greeks, prefer to "see things whole". In that attitude lies the only safe procedure if we are to shape the life of the community of nations so that peace, security and justice can prevail. The world must not only know more of its component parts; it must gain an entirely new conception of human rights and obligations. Nationalism is the narrow sense must give way to an enlightened internationalism which seeks the communal good wherever it may be found. It was an inspiration, surely, which led Sun Yat-sen, founder of the New China, to use the word MIN (people) in his triple platform for the construction of the Republic.

This book is addressed to the *people* of the world, for in their hands lies the good or ill of future generations. The story it tells is one facet of a many-sided jewel, cut and polished by innumerable hands down the ages. If *all* these sides are known and understood the peoples can look and move forward without fear or stumbling.

V. K. WELLINGTON KOO.

London, January, 1946.

STATEMENT OF DR. V. K. WELLINGTON KOO, CHAIRMAN OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION, AT THE OPENING OF THE DUMBARTON OAKS CONVERSATIONS, SEPTEMBER 29TH, 1944.

It is a matter for congratulation that the Government of the United States has arranged the present series of preliminary consultations for the establishment of an international system of peace and security. This is the great object set forth in the Four Nations' Declaration of October 30th, 1943, at Moscow, and these discussions constitute another significant step towards the realization of our high purpose. One part of the consultations has already taken place and yielded fruitful results. To-day's meeting marks the beginning of another part which will complete the first place in seeking an agreed set of proposals for approval by the Governments of the four signatory States to the above-mentioned declaration, and for recommendation to the other United Nations.

We of China, like you, Mr. Secretary of State, and like our British and American colleagues, attach the greatest importance to the work lying ahead of us, and we shall participate in it with the guiding thought of contributing to its success. The lack of security which has been responsible for the present world catastrophe, made my country its first victim. Just as the long years of resistance to invasion with all its attendant sufferings and sacrifices have been singularly painful for China, so the prospect of a new international organization rising to effectively maintain peace and justice is particularly welcome to us.

Our desire to see it come into existence is all the keener, not only because our appeals and warnings in the past did not always meet with the response they deserved, but also because, loyal to our traditional sentiment of peace, we have ever believed in the need and the wisdom of collective effort to ensure the peace and security of nations. Our common experience has made it clear to us all that the unity of purpose and the spirit of unreserved co-operation which have together yielded such striking results in our joint struggle against the forces of tyranny and barbarism, are equally essential in our striving to build a system of durable peace.

All nations which love peace and freedom, whatever their size and strength, have a part to play in any security organization which is to be set up. We believe that such an organization should be universal in character, and that eventually all nations should be brought into it. In order to achieve full and permanent success, the new institution requires such general participation in its membership. The responsibility of member States in safeguarding international peace and security may vary according to their respective resources, but sovereign equality as re-affirmed by the Four Nations' Declaration of Moscow should remain a guiding principle of the new organization.

There is a consensus of opinion among the freedom-loving peoples of the world that all disputes between nations should be settled solely by pacific means. Resort to force by any member State should be proscribed except when authorized by the new organization and acting in its name in accordance with its declared purposes and principles. Any breach of or threat to the peace should be stopped or forestalled by the application of measures which may, if necessary, take the form of military action. Since peace is the supreme interest of the world, vital for the well-being of all peoples, we think no effort should be spared in ensuring its maintenance. But to be able to carry out this primary duty, we firmly believe that the proposed structure should have at its disposal an adequate force which it can promptly use whenever and wherever it may be needed.

In the light of past experience, we believe that plans for the application of necessary measures should be worked out beforehand by appropriate agencies, and reviewed from time to time, taking into account changed and changing conditions in the world. In our view it is important that such measures, to serve as an effective deterrent to actual or potential aggression, must have certainty, definiteness and promptness of execution. Provision should therefore be made to obviate the necessity of consultation and debate at the last minute, which, in the light of experience, would invariably cause delay and thereby lead to an aggravation of a situation already critical.

However, the world does not stand still; and international life, like life in other domains, must grow and develop. We should, therefore, make it possible to bring about such adjustments by peaceful means as may be required by new conditions. In order to facilitate the necessary pacific settlement, full provision should be made in the basic instrument of the new institution.

This is also true of international law. As the intercourse between peoples grows in complexity and the common interests of nations multiply and become more varied, principles and rules of conduct for their guidance need elucidation, revision and supplementation. For such work I can think of no more authoritative or better qualified body than the proposed new institution.

One more point I wish to bring forward before I conclude. While the safeguarding of international security is an essential condition to the general welfare and peaceful development of humanity, positive and constructive efforts are also required to strengthen the foundation of peace. This can only be achieved by mitigating the causes of international discord and conflict. It is therefore our belief that the new organization should also concern itself in the study and solution of economic and social problems of international importance. It should be able to recommend measures for adoption by member States, and should also play a central role in the directing and co-ordinating of international agencies devoted to such purposes. With the continuous revelation of the wonders of science and the unending achievements of technology, a systematic interchange of ideas and knowledge will be invaluable in the promotion of the social and economic welfare of the peoples of the world. Similarly common effort should be made to advance international understanding and to uproot the causes of distrust and suspicion amongst nations by means of educational and cultural collaboration.

The few observations which I have just presented reflect the general views of the Government and people of China. I hope they are largely in harmony with your sentiments. We have come to take part in the consultations not merely to present our own views, but also to hear with an open mind the opinions of the other delegations. Above all, we are animated by the spirit of co-operation and by the desire to promote the success of our joint task.

The establishment of an effective international peace organization is the united hope and aspiration of all the freedom-loving peoples who have been making such heroic sacrifices in life, blood and toil. We owe it to them as well as to humanity at large to subordinate all other considerations to the achievement of our common object. We of the Chinese Delegation felicitate ourselves upon the opportunity afforded us of exploring this all-important problem with the eminent representatives of the United States and Great Britain. We are confident that with a common will to co-operate, with faith in our ideal, and with determination to share the responsibility, we cannot fail in our undertaking.

INTRODUCTION

DURING the preparation of this work events have gone at breath-taking speed all over the world. For China momentous days have meant gigantic sacrifices and unending effort.

The attempt to represent in such small compass the highlights of a civilization of more than four thousand years can obviously be only partially successful. Moreover, when stress is to be laid mainly on present-day developments many points worthy of detailed development must be set down as categorical statements. It is hoped, however, that the general reader will find all essentials to an understanding of China and her problems touched upon even if they are not adequately developed.

In fairness to Dr. Liang, it should be stated that although the general plan of the work is his, it has not had the benefit of his critical revision. Acting as Technical Adviser to the Chinese delegations to Dumbarton Oaks and the UNCIO Conference at San Francisco, Dr. Liang has been abroad while most of the work was in execution. As stated above, these are indeed strenuous days for those closely engaged in the Far Eastern war, and there is no leisure for us until Japan is beaten (nor, perhaps, until long after that), so that work such as this must be done in time taken from sleep.

While the typescript of this book was in the printer's hands the war with Japan came to an end. The position of both author and publisher is an unenviable one in these days and this is more particularly true when a book (or any part of it) deals with the living issues of a country and its people.

It will be clear, however, to the careful reader of this work that China did not expect Paradise to supervene upon the defeat of Japan. China has always been aware of the gigantic tasks confronting her and she has shown her keenness to tackle them. Even as peace came to Europe, too soon for many people, there are those in Asia, too, who were taken by surprise when Japan's unconditional surrender followed so soon upon that of Germany. But, owing largely to the fore-

sight of those who set going, hand-in-hand, the twin activities of resistance and reconstruction, China is well on the way to the solution of some of her post-war problems while she draws blue prints to aid in the solution of others.

The period of political tutelage in China, as envisaged by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, is almost over. Soon the politically conscious citizens of China will declare what type of Government shall be in charge of their destinies for the duration of their first democratically elected parliament. Then will open the great plenary democratic life of the reborn Chinese nation.

Unfortunately at present writing, difficulties abound. So far all attempts to bridge the gulf between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists have not met with the success they deserved. This is not to say that the problem is regarded as insoluble. Soon some reasonable solution must be found, for China, like the other United Nations, needs quickly to rehabilitate herself, her ravished land, her shattered industries; for that, all the energies of all Chinese, truly united, will be needed.

The authors wish to express their thanks to Mr. Courtney Young, for help during the progress of the work.

NEVILLE WHYMANT.

December, 1945,
London.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	General Characteristics of Chinese Civilization	13
II.	A Bird's-eye View of Chinese History	35
III.	The Impact of the West	84
IV.	Rise of Modern China (1911–1931)	102
V.	Resistance and Reconstruction	126
	Postscript	172
	Appendix A	177
	Appendix B	187
	Bibliography	190

CHINA

CHAPTER I

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION

THE definition of the characteristics of a civilization in one word is often not easy, but in the case of China there is one word which is as accurate as any one-word definition can be—Continuity.

It may be argued that this is a necessary ingredient for any civilization, in that there should be a central skein stretching from its foundations to its finish; so let us add another word to make the definition clearer and set Chinese civilization in a class by itself—Persistence. Other civilizations have arisen, flourished and decayed, leaving little behind save relics buried in the tropical growth of South America, the mud of Mesopotamia or the desert sands of Central Asia. Others, again, have perished, leaving a cultural heritage to other races in other times. But the central core of Chinese civilization has remained unchanged and inviolate from its foundation to the present day. China has been conquered and ruled by alien races, foreign creeds have been introduced, but they have been absorbed into and assimilated by China. The weight and strength of the civilization is too strong to be overturned by the impact of foreign influences. In this chapter an attempt will be made to give some indication of the reasons for the strength of this civilization and its foundations.

There are three factors which, interwoven, form the strength of Chinese civilization—language, literature, and family life. For a proper study of Chinese literature it is essential to have some knowledge of the formation of the language, and the literature, in turn, gives the clue to the conduct of the family.

Language

Here differentiation must be made between the written and the spoken language, and the former will be taken first.

Chinese writing is ideographic, that is to say that one Chinese character represents an idea. Some of these characters were in origin pictographic, as, for example, *ma*=a horse, which was in its primitive form an easily recognizable picture of a horse; *jen*=a man, which Giles compares with Shakespeare's "forked radish". Others, again, are the combination of two pictorial characters, as, for example, *tung*=east, which is a combination of *mu*=wood and *jih*=sun and is the picture of the sun rising behind a tree; or, again, *lin*=a wood, which is, literally, two trees side by side. This combination of characters developed, and, in the more complicated forms, one gets interesting sidelights on human nature, such as the character *tan*=gossip, which is a combination of words and fire; a chat over a fire would inevitably indicate gossip.

Generally speaking, each character is divided into two halves, one the radical and the other the phonetic. Very broadly speaking, the radical gives an indication of the meaning and the phonetic a clue to its sound. Thus, if a character has the radical for wood or water, it is a possible assumption that the idea the ideograph is conveying has some connection with wood or water. Similarly, if two characters have the same phonetic there is a strong possibility that either now or in the past the two characters were sounded alike. There are now 214 radicals, though a dictionary compiled in the Ist century A.D., the *Shuo Wen*, gives 540. The usual way of looking up a character in a Chinese dictionary is through the radical. All the characters are classified under their radicals, and it is merely a matter of counting the number of strokes in the rest of the character to find it in the dictionary. There are other methods of classification, but the radical system is the most general.

The Chinese spoken language is monosyllabic, having in the Peking dialect, for example, only four hundred odd sounds. It is thus obvious that not every Chinese character (Giles' Dictionary lists over thirteen thousand characters)

can have a different sound, and that one sound can mean many different things. This paucity in sound is helped out by the use of tones. There are four of these in Pekingese (this dialect, in a somewhat modified form, was the *kuan hua*, the official language of the Empire, and the *Kuo yu*, the national language of the Republic). Thus the word *ma*, mentioned above, means "horse" in the third tone, "hemp" in the second, and "to curse" in the fourth. All these words have, of course, quite different ideographs.

Even the addition of tones does not do away with ambiguity; there are many words pronounced *shih* in the fourth tone all written quite differently and all with different meanings, so a new method had to be found to overcome this difficulty. This was the combination of the monosyllabic words into two, three or four compounds to indicate the meaning when spoken. Thus the word *i* in the fourth tone means "idea", "thought", "meaning"; but there are many other words with the same sound and tone, and the spoken word *i* might mean anything. So added to it, in spoken Chinese, is the word *ssu* in the first tone, which has an exactly similar meaning. The compound word together, *i-ssu*, thus means "idea", "thought", "meaning", and is at once recognizable to a Chinese ear. Thus, spoken Chinese is really a polysyllabic language of compounded words.

It is well known that there are many Chinese dialects; especially along the coast, where they may vary from village to village. Thus the word *hsiang*, which is the first character in the name of the town known to us as Hong Kong, may be pronounced *hong*, *hsiae*, *kiang* or *ko*. But the written word is recognizable to anyone, whether he comes from Peking, Canton—or Tokyo. Similarly, once a man can read written Chinese the entire literature of China is open to him; for though he could not understand it, were it read aloud to him by a contemporary, or by Confucius himself, he can read it, as the signs have not changed. The persons in this country who could read Chaucer in the original are comparatively few in number, but any literate Chinese can read a work of the IVth century B.C.

This fact, the availability of all existing Chinese written

works to the Chinese throughout the ages, has meant that literature has been able to exercise a constant effect on Chinese life, and is one of the threads which bind all Chinese civilization into a continuous and conglomerate whole.

Literature

It is obviously impossible, within the bounds of this work, to give more than the barest outline of the immense sweep of Chinese literature throughout the ages. In general, only what might be termed serious works will be dealt with fully, as the novel and the play were not, until recently, rated highly by the Chinese as forms of literature.

The *Ssu k'u Ch'uan shu*, the catalogue of books compiled in the Ch'ien Lung period (1736–1796), divides Chinese literature into four classes: the classics, histories, repositories, and philosophic writings.

The Classics are works reputedly edited by Confucius or his school. The Confucian School had its centre in the state of Lu, where the traditions of the Chou Dynasty had largely survived; and as a result the school had as its object the expounding of the principles underlying the civilization of Chou, with the aim of establishing them more firmly. Much controversy centres round the question of the genuineness of these works. Some were lost to us permanently after the Burning of the Books ordered by Ch'in Shih Huang-ti (IIIrd century B.C.), and the rest were rescued in a mutilated condition or were resuscitated through oral tradition.

The five Classics are the *Book of History*, the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Odes*, the *Book of Rites* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The *Book of History* was reputedly edited by Confucius and is constantly cited as an authoritative canon, but the work, in its present state, was put together after the time of Confucius. It is said to have consisted originally of a hundred sections, but suffered badly in the Burning of the Books. The work as we know it to-day is a combination of fragments, but undoubtedly it is founded on ancient tradition and records in the possession of the School of Lu. It must be remembered that this work was designed by

Confucius not as an historical work but as a treatise on political science.

The *Book of Changes* is a book of oracular diagrams with commentaries. Some of these make reference to then current events, and there are various references to happenings at the end of the Yin and the beginning of the Chou Dynasties. It cannot be said that all the commentaries in the *Book of Changes* came from the pen of Confucius; many are records by disciples, and others are by other hands still. The book was employed by the School of Lu not only for divination but also as the basis for philosophical discourses.

The *Spring and Autumn Annals* record events in the state of Lu from the VIIIth to the Vth century B.C. The events are recorded with remarkable brevity, equal emphasis being placed on all facts recorded, whether they deal with politics or astronomy. The compiling of these annals is generally considered to date back to Confucius. The equally famous *Tso Chuan*, or *Commentaries of Tso-chiu Ming*, is a coherent historical narrative of which the *Spring and Autumn Annals* themselves are but the bare bones.

The *Book of Odes* is a collection of ancient folk-songs to which the Confucian School has given philosophic meanings and commentaries. An ode in this work gives the earliest indisputable date in Chinese history in its mention of an evil omen for the kingdom in the shape of an eclipse of the sun. This eclipse has been accurately dated to August 29, 776 B.C., as has been ascertained by calculations of modern astronomers.

The *Book of Rites* as it now is was compiled only in the Han Dynasty, but it embodies traditions of an earlier date, and from it a good picture of the ritualistic teaching of the Confucian School can be gained. As will be noted later, great emphasis was laid by Confucius on the correct performance of ceremonies which he regarded as of paramount importance for the forming of the human character.

The four books which, together with the five Classics mentioned above, form the Confucian Canon are the *Analects*, the *Great Learning*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and the *Works of Mencius*.

The *Analects* are the record of conversations between

Confucius and his disciples. Two versions of this work were discovered after the Burning of the Books, and they were not correlated until the Han Dynasty. Though many passages are undoubtedly corrupt and others are additions by later tradition, it is in general a faithful record of the sayings of the Sage compiled only a few generations after his death.

The *Great Learning* and the *Doctrine of the Mean* are concerned with the education of the people. Mencius was a follower and fellow countryman of Confucius, and his works are extant in seven books.

The Classics will be dealt with in greater detail when the trends of philosophic thought are discussed. At this stage it is desired only to give an outline of the literary types.

The *Book of History* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* mentioned above are, of course, histories, but the "Father of Chinese History" is Ssu-ma Ch'ien (about 140–80 B.C.). His work *Shih Chi*, or the *Historical Record*, is not an official history, it is a vivid narrative in which the moral is pointed without sacrificing fact. His work gave an impetus to the writing of histories and provided a model for all succeeding historians. Pan Ku, who wrote the history of the Han Dynasty, was also an unofficial historian, but his work is primarily a record of rulers and differs widely from the work of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, which was concerned with all historical facts, and thus with social progress as well as political developments. Pan Ku died in prison in A.D. 92, and his sister, Pan Chao, completed the work. From Pan Ku originated the custom of writing the histories of dynastic periods as self-contained works. In the official collection of *The Twenty-five Dynastic Histories* all but the *Historical Record* are real dynastic histories.

Under the T'ang Dynasty there was set up a college of official historians who were responsible for the recording of events during the dynasty, and after its fall the history was published.

The next historian bold enough to write an individual history is another Ssu-ma, Ssu-ma Kuang in the XIth century. His work covered a period from the Vth century B.C. to the Xth century A.D. He regarded history as a living mirror of

the times rather than a lifeless collection of facts. Chu Hsi, the great commentator on Confucius, rearranged this work; and later it was divided into categories, in each of which the various subjects were treated in true historical sequence.

There are other works dealing with social systems and institutions, such as the *Complete Chronicles*, dealing with Chinese history from the earliest times to the T'ang Dynasty, and the *Complete Antiquarian Researches*, compiled at the end of the Sung Dynasty. There are two later collective encyclopædias worthy of mention: the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, dating from the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, which was so immense that it was never printed, and the greater part of it was burnt during the Boxer Rebellion. The other is the illustrated encyclopædia, the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng*, which appeared in the K'ang Hsi period of the Ch'ing Dynasty. These should, however, strictly speaking, come under the heading of Repositories.

The Repositories are collected works of scholars, collections of verses and essays in literary criticism. There is a quantity of Chinese poetry available in English translation. It is not easy to translate, as the characters are often chosen to evoke a visual image, and there is thus close interrelation between poetry and painting. Mention must be made of Ch'u Yuan, who invented a new form of poetry, the Fu, which persists to this day. The T'ang Dynasty produced two poets who are well known in this country through translations of their works, Li T'ai-po (A.D. 701–762) and Tu Fu (A.D. 712–770). They both lived at the time of Ming Huang and the famous courtesan Yang Kuei-fei, whose beauty and whose passion for the Turki general An Lu-shan brought disaster on the Empire. This was the high spot of that dynasty in the field of art and poetry. In the Sung Dynasty there were the two great poets, Ou-yang Hsiu (1007–1072) and Su Tung-p'o (1036–1101).

The heading Philosophic Writings covers a very wide field, ranging through military science, astronomy, cookery, painting, Confucianism, Taoism and necromancy. Its terms are so varied that it will be advisable here to mention the main trends of Chinese philosophic and religious thought.

Confucianism is often regarded in the West as a religion, but it would seem preferable to regard it as a political philosophy, as its doctrines are principally concerned with the conduct of life in this world and the proper organization of the State. The other philosophic schools of importance are the schools of Lao Tzu, Mo Ti, and the Legists.

Confucius (which is the latinized form of K'ung Fu Tzu, "The Master K'ung") (551–479 B.C.) was a native of Lu, which is in Shantung. He became counsellor to his sovereign, but later resigned and travelled round other states, offering his services in a similar capacity. Towards the end of his life he returned to Lu and settled down to expounding his doctrine. The books composing the Confucian Canon have already been mentioned; it remains only to describe briefly the philosophy they set forth.

Confucian teaching is based on the theory that every man has his rightful place in human society, and if he performs these duties correctly the good in man will flow outward and upward through the grades of society to the sovereign himself and the State will be well governed. The workings of this are well shown in the following passage from the *Great Learning :*

"The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom first ordered well their own States. Wishing to order well their States, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their own knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things.

"Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their States were rightly governed. Their States being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy.

"From the Son of Heaven down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of everything besides."

For the correct working of this theory the functions of the individual must be defined, and this is based on the definition of names. To the Confucianist a name is not just an empty word, it carries with it a definite meaning or idea, and, if correctly defined, includes a duty. The words which are naturally most important in this connection are, for instance, son and father, minister and prince. Only if a son fully acts as a son, a father fully acts as a father, a minister as a minister, and a prince as a prince, are the names correctly applied; and then the individuals concerned, having discharged their duties, may properly enjoy the rights attaching to them.

In brief, the idea of a Confucian State is one where the normal obligations entailed by the family tie are extended to embrace the whole organization of society. The son acting properly as a son makes the father act properly as a father, and this principle extends to the relations between minister and prince. Similarly, with the prince acting as a prince and the minister as a minister, the chain should work downwards, finding its correlative in each successive stratum of society.

The rules governing the behaviour of the individual are the ceremonials which must be rightly performed. When a man is performing his functions correctly and ceremoniously, then he can be stated to have become the *chün tzu*, the beau ideal of Confucianism. This word is variously translated; Legge calls him the "superior man", but Lin Yu-tang has defined it as the "English gentleman in the best sense of the word".

Confucius disclaimed any originality in this doctrine, but stated that he was merely handing down the teachings of antiquity, the Golden Age of the semi-mythical rulers Yao, Shun and Shen Nung.

It may be broadly said that Taoism originated as a philosophy and developed into a religion. Little is known of the semi-legendary founder of this school, Lao Tzu (the "old Master"). He is thought to have been an older contemporary

of Confucius and a native of the southern state of Ch'u. Lao Tzu is credited with writing the Taoist textbook, the *Tao Te Ching*, the "Classic of Reason and Virtue", a collection of aphorisms embodying the philosophy of the school.

The Tao, literally "the Way", of this school does not mean the way of man but the spontaneous way of Nature which originated without agency. It is all-powerful, all-embracing and supremely good. If this stream of force is allowed to flow unchecked, then all is good. But man is in a position to change this. Man has the power to name things; and if he names things, then he sets up a second phantasmagorial world, as by naming things he fixes them in the mould of his own mind instead of allowing them to flow on, eternally unchanging. This second world of empty, man-made images provokes dangerous desires in man. Thus instead of fighting against the stream the Taoist philosophy advocates the doctrine of *wu wei*; doing nothing, letting things alone. Man should allow himself to be carried along with the stream, as otherwise he will spread disorder and trouble by his actions.

This philosophy, as can be seen, was in conflict with the teachings of Confucius. Instead of striving to improve the State, the ruler should, according to the Taoists, indulge in a policy of *laissez faire*. He should stand aloof and inactive and not attempt by his efforts to change the world. The government of the State would function mysteriously and smoothly, with no need of effort on the part of mankind. The two most famous of the followers of Lao Tzu are Chuang Tzu and Lieh Tzu.

In later centuries the pure metaphysical philosophy of Taoism became gradually corrupted by sorcery, spiritualism and alchemy. It came into conflict with Buddhism and gradually set itself up as a Church with a not too well-regulated priesthood, a pantheon, and, later, an elaborate series of hells. Many of these changes were the result of Buddhistic influence.

Mo Ti was a younger contemporary of Confucius and also a native of the state of Lu. His philosophy was similar to that of Confucius in that it had as its basis human sympathy, but differed in that it took no account of the differences in human

relationships. The School of Mo Ti stated that love should be universal and without respect of persons. It differed from Taoism in condemning the blind submission to fate, and stated that the world was governed, not by fate but by a Deity with a conscious will. It also upheld the doctrine of life continuing after death, and thus belittled the importance of burial ceremonies as advocated by the School of Lu. In brief, the spirit of the school was one of religious asceticism. Man was to work hard and be thrifty, and for this reason banquets and all such luxuries were condemned. This school flourished for about two centuries and then died out, leaving little trace.

The Legist School, broadly speaking, provided a philosophical justification for the autocrats of the great hegemonies which arose with the collapse of the feudal system. It reached its greatest influence under the short-lived but powerful Ch'in Dynasty with its chief exponents, Han Fei Tzu and Li Ssu, ministers to Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, the first Ch'in Emperor. It laid down as its fundamental principle that all men were innately bad, bad that it was thus useless to appeal to man's better nature. It followed that the human element in the government of the State must be entirely ruled out, and the State must be ruled by a rigid code of law, to which the highest statesman in the land and the lowest peasant were equally bound. The good of the State justified all means to that end. Though in theory this extreme objectivity may have been not without merit, in practice it gave an opportunity and an excuse for a rigid, harsh despotism. With the collapse of the Ch'in Dynasty, which used this philosophy as the justification of its methods, the Legist School disappeared.

Buddhism was introduced into China in the Ist century A.D. some five centuries after the death of Buddha. It did not, however, spread in China till the next century, and was given a powerful impetus by the accession of the Tartar dynasties to the Chinese throne. Indian monks entered China in the Wei and T'ang Dynasties, and Chinese pilgrims, like Fa Hsien in 399, went to India and brought back not only the narrative of their travels but also Buddhist texts.

Buddhism spread all over China, temples and monasteries sprang up everywhere. It had a profound influence on art, literature and thought.

There is no space here to deal with Nestorianism, which entered China in the T'ang Dynasty; Mohammedanism, which reached the Empire a little later; or the small Jewish colony at K'ai Feng, in Honan, of which traces still remained in the XIXth century.

Family Life

Family life, which has been described as one of the major forces in Chinese civilization, is in itself held together by two important factors, kinship and the soil. The sense of continuity of the clan is expressed in what the West has termed ancestor worship, and the fact that 75 per cent of the population gains its living directly from agriculture links the Chinese with the unchanging soil.

There is reason to believe that in the earliest times the Chinese family had a matriarchal pattern. For example, the written character *hsing* (surname) is composed of the characters woman and birth or life. But this developed into a patriarchal system which has persisted throughout Chinese civilization as it is known to us. The broad basis for the Chinese family is the clan, all members of which, in general, bear the same surname. The head of the clan is the oldest living male member; he is consulted on all matters which may affect the life of the clan, and he is assisted in his decisions by the clan council, consisting of its senior members—but the head's decision is binding. He is also responsible for all acts committed by the members of the clan. (This principle of collective responsibility is dealt with later.) The head of the clan is also empowered to render assistance to any member of the clan who may be in need, and all such members have a right to demand such assistance. It can be seen that admirable as this is in principle, it lays the system open to abuse by parasitical clan-members.

The clan is divided into families, which, in general, can be defined as being all those individuals living within the same

enclosure. A whole village may be occupied by one family, each portion of it living in its own courtyard. Again, the head of the family rules here, subject, of course, to the rule of the head of the clan. Younger members of the family are strongly discouraged from splitting away from the family during the lifetime of the parents.

In the temple of ancestors of the clan are kept the tablets of the ancestors as well as the genealogical records of the clan. A similar temple is usually to be found in the family homestead. The records of the clan are most carefully kept, and for good reason. Not only do they give the record of the honoured ancestors, but also they take the place occupied in this country by parish registers and the like. The principle of collective responsibility obviously requires a careful record to be kept if it is to function adequately.

Under the Empire it was a principle of immemorial antiquity that all land belonged to the Emperor. Thus land was held on consideration of paying a land tax, which tax was the backbone of Chinese finance. Subject to this payment, the piece of land was held to all intents and purposes freehold and could be bought and sold without hindrance. Individual ownership of land existed, but this is a conception which it is not easy to hold in a country where the whole foundation of life is on a clan and family basis. In general, the land is held by the clan, who lease out such of it as is not needed for the use of the clan to tenant farmers, who pay rent in cash or in kind. The plots of land are frequently very small and have to support a large family. Farmers live, and have lived for many centuries, on pieces of land divided up into fragments scattered over the neighbouring countryside and divided and subdivided throughout the generations among members of the family.

Agriculture

Like the clan and family customs, the methods of agriculture are also strictly laid down. A calendar was worked out by the State, based on centuries of observation, by which the work of the farm was ordered throughout the year. Notwithstanding

these old-fashioned methods of farming, the Chinese farmer cultivates his land intensively and raises several crops a year. Artificial irrigation is widespread and there is an intensive use of manure. Following the seasons and the calendar laid down, the Chinese peasant of to-day farms his land much the same as did his ancestors centuries before Christ.

Sculpture

There is little sculpture available dating from before the Han Dynasty, with the exception of a few bronzes. The most characteristic Han sculpture, apart from tomb figures, are the bas-reliefs in the Wu Liang Tombs in Shantung, which show a great liveliness and vigour. There is also a certain amount of sculpture in the round which shows equal naturalistic zest, the Han sculptors showing special aptitude and fondness for animal figures.

The introduction of Buddhism into China resulted in the production of the greatest of China's figure sculpture. The Wei Tartars, who were ardent Buddhists, carved the first of the great groups of Buddhist images in the living rock in the Yun-kang valley, in Shansi, between 460 and 495. The rhythm and flow of the draperies show the influence of the Gandhara School of Indian scuplture, though the general conception of the figures is purely Chinese.

Towards the end of the Wei and during the short-lived Sui Dynasty the figures became less rigid, and instead of a remote, severe deity being represented a more humane and benevolent figure is shown. In the famous caves at Lung-men, in Honan, are groups dating from 495 to the middle of the VIIIth century and covering every aspect of Buddhist iconography. Buddha is frequently represented flanked by a pair of attendant Bodhisattvas, and this *motif* is the one which is most common in the votive steles of the period. These are usually in the form of a rectangular slab tapering towards the top. The front is carved with scenes from the life of Buddha, with a group of three figures in the centre. On the back or on the pedestal base are votive inscriptions. These steles are usually dated, and it would appear that

they were popular in the Vth and VIth centuries, but went out of favour under the T'ang Dynasty.

The T'ang period images at Lung-men show an increasing freedom of style. The types had now become fixed, so that more attention could be given to detail. The draperies were no longer hung on the figure with no regard to the form beneath, but moulded to the shape of the limb and body, and towards the end of the dynasty there were serious attempts at modelling the body. With this came, for the first time, a variation in the attitude of the figure; the head turned and the figure bent at the hips.

The T'ang Dynasty, like the Han, also excelled in animal sculpture. Mention may here be made of the numerous tomb figures which in the past twenty years have become so popular in the West. These, however, can hardly be regarded as true sculpture, as they are cast in moulds; but, on the other hand, they are the most likely kind of figurine the ordinary Westerner will see. No one can deny their vigour or beauty. The fact that many of the figures he will see, especially of the horses, are modern forgeries need not distress the ordinary man too much. He can be sure, at least, that they are, in the majority of cases, most faithful copies.

Perhaps not so familiar, but in China equally famous, are the panels showing the six chargers of the first Emperor of the T'ang Dynasty. These carvings formed part of his tomb. The originals are no longer extant, but rubbings from them, and also from smaller replicas, give an admirable idea of the originals. Like the Han sculptors, the artist made use of the convention of the "flying gallop", the legs of the galloping horse being stretched out in front and behind, giving a great impression of speed. The same convention is observed in English sporting prints, and the theory has been expressed that it came from China at the time of the European craze for "chinoiserie".

The end of the T'ang Dynasty saw a gradual decline in Chinese sculpture, its place being taken by new schools of painting. The fantastic and intricate carvings from Canton brought back by our ancestors in the early days of trade with China show technical rather than artistic merit.

Painting

For a proper appreciation of Chinese painting it is necessary to rid the mind of Western ideas on this subject. In China, painting and calligraphy are closely bound together, a Chinese getting as much aesthetic pleasure from a written scroll by a famous calligrapher as from a painting. The Chinese style of painting can be said to have developed from the writing. For example, one of the earliest lessons for an art student is the painting of a spray of bamboo. The technical exactness necessary for this is similar to that needed for the writing of characters.

Two other facts must also be realized. The Chinese paint on highly absorbent paper or silk with ink or water-colour, which means that a line once put on paper can never be rubbed out. Thus the artist must have the whole picture in his mind's eye before he puts brush to paper. Similarly, no Chinese painter will sit down at an easel and paint a landscape before him. He will study it, and later will produce at home that portion of it which has appealed to him. It will not necessarily be a faithful reproduction of that fragment, but, to use a hackneyed phrase, a lyrical interpretation. The Chinese artist does not concern himself with shadow or perspective. It is said that a Chinese, on seeing a portrait in the European style with one side of the face in shadow, asked why it was that Europeans washed one side of the face only. Chinese paintings are either hanging scrolls or long horizontal rolls. The latter is a most satisfactory medium for the portraying of a series of scenes or for a long landscape, a portion at a time being unrolled, and thus giving the spectator the impression of travelling over a large tract of country. It must also be realized that the Chinese do not greatly value portrait painting. This is principally confined to religious subjects or to the depiction of emperors or ancestors, and, as an art, not held in high esteem.

Little is known of painting before about the IVth century A.D. In Chinese records there is mention of Han wall paintings, but none of these have survived. The materials used in Chinese painting are easily destroyed by time, weather or

carelessness, quite apart from the various deliberate destructions that have occurred, such as the sack of cities by soldiers and insurrectionists.

One of the earliest paintings in existence is in this country. "The Admonitions of the Instructress", in the British Museum, is ascribed to K'u K'ai-chih of the IVth century A.D., and even if it is not actually from his brush the experts are agreed that it is certainly not later than the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty. Originally in the form of a scroll, it forms, as it were, illustrations to a moral discourse delivered to the ladies of the Court. The style shows quite clearly that when it was painted Chinese art had already reached a high level, and that it is a product of a technique which had been established and had developed for centuries.

The T'ang Dynasty is the earliest period in which there are paintings which can be definitely ascribed to a fixed date. The discovery of a large number of Buddhist paintings on silk in the caves at Tun-huang provided a mass of material on T'ang Buddhist art, and Buddhism would appear to be by far the most important influence on art in this period. Despite the fact that these are provincial works, they are of great beauty, as a visit to the British Museum will show. If the provinces could rise to these heights, the beauty of the paintings produced in the heart of the Empire, where the most famous artists congregated, must have been supreme.

The works of a famous T'ang artist and poet, Wang Wei, have come down in a debased form in the shape of rubbings from engravings, and from these it is possible to envisage the originals. Wang Wei was regarded as the founder of the so-called Southern School of landscape painting; a freer and bolder form than the drier and more precise Northern School.

As in sculpture so in painting did the T'ang artists excel in animal subjects. Han Kan was especially famous for his horses, and there is a tendency among Chinese to attribute any animal painting of respectable antiquity to his brush, though it is highly doubtful if, in fact, any examples of his work exist at present.

As regards the Sung Dynasty, we are more fortunate, in that many works of this period have survived. To indulge

again in generalizations, one can say that the two most obviously characteristic Sung subjects are bird and flower paintings and landscapes. The former have a delicacy and a sureness which are outstanding. Among the landscape painters are Mi Fei (Mi Fu) and Su Tung-p'o, who are coupled together, as they were close friends in life. The former's paintings are strongly individualistic, his favourite subject being conical mountains rising out of the mist, while Su Tung-p'o specialized in painting bamboos.

The moving of the S'ung capital south to Hangchow gave the S'ung painters landscapes of extraordinary beauty to serve as inspiration. Hsia Kuei painted the long scroll which was shown at the Chinese Exhibition at Burlington House, London, 1935–6, "The Ten Thousand Li River". This subject is ideally suited to scroll painting, as by unrolling a portion at a time one gets the impression of the river flowing on its long journey to the sea as one travels with it. Under the Sung, Chinese art reached its greatest height. At this period there was the most complete mating of technical skill and feeling for beauty. Under later dynasties technical skill survived, but the more spiritual side seemed to decline and paintings became, to the European eye, more "typically Chinese", that is to say "quainter" and less easy to understand; while the works of Sung artists are more easily appreciated by the West, being simpler, more direct in execution, and entirely in tune with nature.

The style of painting in the Yuan Dynasty is a continuation of that of the Sung. The new rulers of China, being Mongols, were naturally interested in horses and horsemen. A famous painter of horses was Chao Meng-fu, but, as is the case with his predecessor, Han Kan, most of the hundreds of pictures optimistically attributed to him are not his originals.

The art of the Ming Dynasty, though justly famous for its sumptuous colour and superb ink paintings, must fall into second place when compared with the art of T'ang or Sung. Artistic tradition was well established, and it has been truly said that the surprising thing is not that Chinese art was losing its freshness but that it had any vitality left after its thousand years of continuous existence.

Side by side with the richly coloured landscapes and the ornate paintings of birds and flowers, there existed at this time a school of painting which claimed direct descent from the Southern School of Wang Wei. This school specialized in ink drawings in a free and impressionistic style.

Under the Manchus technical skill remained at the same high level, but there was little life behind it. The emphasis was more on the copying of ancient masters, incorporating some new trick in an attempt to give novelty to the theme. It is worth noting that a Jesuit missionary, Castiglione, learned to paint in the Chinese style, and examples of his works, signed with his Chinese name, Lang Shih-ning, are valued, even by Chinese.

Ceramics

For the average European, Chinese porcelain begins with the Sung Dynasty, but this is hardly correct. The Chinese definition of porcelain is of wider effect than the European, since the Chinese class as porcelain any ware which is hard enough to give a musical note on being struck. This group would include many objects which would probably be described by us as stoneware.

Glaze was used under the Han Dynasty or somewhat earlier, and at some period between then and the T'ang it was discovered that the combination of kaolin and *petuntse* made porcelain when kiln-fired. By the IXth century porcelain was already an article of commerce, though only fragments of these remain to-day. T'ang potters used various coloured glazes on their earthenware funeral pots, and their shapes show that the potters' art was already far advanced. Mention has been made, under Sculpture, to the tomb figures which are so typical of T'ang pottery.

Under the Sung Emperors ceramic art was encouraged by Imperial patronage, and its development was favoured by long periods of peace. There are six types of Sung ware which are of outstanding merit, which may be described briefly. The first is a kind of buff porcellanous stoneware with a pale lavender-grey glaze sometimes deepening to blue and

usually crackled, called *Ju Yao*; *Kuan Yao*, with its dove-grey crackled glaze; *Ko Yao*, which is almost indistinguishable from *Kuan Yao*, though it is stated that the former has a moister and glassy glaze while the latter is more like lightly polished stone. *Lung Ch'uan Yao* is more popularly known as celadon. The above-mentioned wares are without design, relying for their appeal on their delicate colouring and shape, but the Chinese potter was unable to resist the temptation to decorate celadon ware, and it is found with designs incised or moulded in low relief. It is also found crackled like *Ko Yao*. *Ting Yao*, a warm white porcelain, was also decorated with under-glaze design. The last type of ware is *Chun Yao*, which is a porcellanous stoneware with a glaze changing from lavender grey to blue with underlying elements of blue and red. These last two types of ware lasted into the following dynasty and many imitations were made.

Under the Ming Dynasty the focal point for Chinese ceramics moved to the city of Ching-te Chen. The fashion for plain monochrome passed and pictorial decoration became fashionable. This is the period of "blue and white" porcelain, which easily led the field, though other colours were also in use.

Monochrome porcelains were still made, however, monochrome blues and reds being highly prized as well as the so-called white "egg-shell" bowls of the Yung Lo period, though these have a slight decoration etched below the glaze and only visible when the bowl is held up to the light.

The Ch'ing potters did not embark on new processes. This was a period of technical improvement with little attempt at originality. In the K'ang Hsi period blue and white in Ming designs was still made, and the *famille verte*, so called owing to the predominance of green in the colouring of the design, is typical of this period. Monochromes were also popular at this time, some of the best being ox-blood red, powder blue and mirror black.

Later there developed a style of colouring in which the rose-pinks predominated, which the European collectors have named *famille rose*. It is impossible to enumerate all the types and colouring found in this period. Much of the stuff made

for export was rough in finish and bad in design, and this gave a false impression of Chinese skill to the West. Mention may perhaps be made here of the flourishing porcelain factories in Canton, which throve on exports for foreign merchants. From here came the numerous blue-and-white ginger jars, and here also were executed the orders for crested plates and reproductions of European prints which can often be seen in collections.

Inventions

In the field of invention the Chinese are credited, and rightly, with the invention of paper and printing. They are also credited with the discovery of the compass and of gunpowder. Gunpowder was used entirely for the manufacture of fireworks and set pieces. It was not until the arrival of foreigners at the end of the Ming Dynasty, who taught the Chinese the art of casting cannon, that it was put to any lethal use.

Medicine

There is a voluminous quantity of Chinese medical literature, most of which concerns itself with the use of drugs. Apart from drugs, there was extensive practice of acupuncture and cautery, but it cannot be said that Chinese medical practice reached the level of the rest of their cultural achievements.

Mathematics

Mathematical science did not reach a high standard in ancient China. Both astronomy and cartography were, however, at a high level quite early in Chinese history.

Recreations

As regards recreations, the play as we know it to-day was introduced under the Mongol Dynasty, though the theatre

was doubtless known long before this period. Chinese plays have been adapted and produced in this country in recent years, so that the general form will be familiar to most readers. A pleasant variation of the ordinary theatre to be met with in the streets of China is the shadow play, performed with transparent coloured marionettes made of animal skin, a light from behind projecting the image on a screen, a sort of animated magic lantern.

Chess, differing only slightly from our own game, is also played, but is regarded as a rather inferior game: *wei ch'i*, a form of checkers of great antiquity and with traditional gambits dating from the earliest times, being considered the game for scholars. The story is told that at a certain inn in Peking the ground floor was used by the chess-players while the first floor was dedicated to the players of *wei ch'i*. One evening the chess-players, being men of low education, became so rowdy that it was necessary to call in the watch to quell them. Complete silence reigned on the first floor, where two scholars were playing, and the proprietor went upstairs to apologize for the ill-bred disturbance and found the two scholars silently strangling each other!

It is thus necessary to keep in mind the three main pillars of Chinese society and civilization, language, literature, and family life, in order that Chinese history may be more comprehensible. It is over-simplification to think of Chinese history as a series of watertight compartments each divided from the next by the fall of the dynasty. But whether a new emperor rose or an old empire fell, the peasant garnered his crops, the scholar wrote, and the artist painted, all bound together by the strong ties of Chinese tradition and civilization. It is as natural for the Generalissimo to cite in a speech the works of Mencius to illustrate the way of life he desired the Chinese people to follow as it would be for an English politician to cite the words of Gladstone. The latter are only the political words of yesterday, which to-morrow may throw into the melting-pot, while the words of the early sages are part of Chinese civilization, and thus will last for all time.

CHAPTER II

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF CHINESE HISTORY

It is impossible to do more than indicate superficially the bare outlines of Chinese civilization from the earliest times to the middle of the XVIIth century. Such condensation is apt to give the impression that Chinese civilization ebbed and flowed with the rise and fall of successive dynasties. But the change of dynasties, the barbarian invasions, even the impact of the West, flowed over the solid rock of Chinese civilization and life. New customs were introduced, new culture came in from outside and was absorbed, but the life of the majority of Chinese people did not change fundamentally, whether they were ruled by Chinese, Mongol or Hun. The solid core of Chinese civilization accepted the new ideas, adopted the new customs, but in the end triumphed over them and adapted them to conform with purely Chinese conceptions. Herein lies the strength of China and the power of her culture.

The origins of the Chinese race are still a subject of controversy. Some maintain that the Chinese were indigenous, others that they came from the West, and there are other purely fanciful theories. The most generally accepted theory is that the Chinese were originally nomad people of northern or central Asia who settled in the valley of the Yellow River and there established an indigenous civilization. Thence they expanded, driving the peoples in their path towards the south and south-west or, in many cases, gradually absorbing them. These other tribes, known as the Miao, Lolo, Chung-Chia-Tzu, Moso, etc., were apparently first forced into the valley of the Yangtze and later to the extreme south-west, where they are still found.

For the earliest days of Chinese history, i.e. up to about 2200 B.C., we have to rely on Chinese legend. The semi-divine persons of this period are obviously culture-myth heroes: Fu Hsi, to whom the invention of nets and traps for hunting and fishing is attributed; Shen Nung, the Divine

Husbandman and Chinese Prometheus, the father of Chinese agriculture, who invented the plough and discovered fire; the legendary Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor, whom Chinese tradition places in the XXVIth century B.C., and to whom is assigned the invention of writing and of the cycle of the ten celestial stems and the twelve terrestrial branches which, combined in a cycle of sixty, are the foundations of the Chinese calendar. To his empress is ascribed the art of sericulture, the method of obtaining and weaving silk.

The two rulers Yao and Shun are held up in Chinese literature as paragons of statesmanship. According to legend, Yao gave his two daughters in marriage to Shun, and Shun became the heir to Yao—an early example of the adoption of a son-in-law as heir by the father-in-law, mentioned in the previous chapter. Yao and Shun are usually assigned to the XXIInd century B.C.

With Yu, the Regulator of the Waters, comes the change from elected priest-kings to the beginning of hereditary dynasties and the Hsia Dynasty (*circa* 2000–1600). Yu gained his description from his successful dealing with a disastrous flood in the area then occupied by the Chinese tribes. The last of the Hsia sovereigns, the tyrant Chieh, presents the first example of a ruler driven from power by a usurper.

The succeeding Shang, also called the Yin, Dynasty (*circa* 1600–1100) has been, to some extent, rescued from the mists of legend by the finds of oracle bones on the ruined site of the Yin capital and by bronzes. These bones were cracked by means of the application of red-hot rods, and the shape and number of the cracks constituted the oracle, based on the resemblance of the outline to a Chinese character. The oracular sentences were then scratched on the bones. Later on, bones no longer needed were buried. From these bones the names of some sovereigns of this dynasty have been obtained, as well as some idea of the life of those days. To this period are also ascribed the older portions of the *Book of History* and the *Book of Odes*, such as that giving details concerning the punishment of the Devil's Country, mentioned in the *Book of Odes*, which occurred in the time of the ruler Wu Ting. The inhabitants of this country are un-

doubtedly the same as the tribes who later, under the names of Hsiung-nu or T'u-chueh (the Huns), menaced Chinese civilization. Like the previous dynasty, the Shang-Yin ended with an equally vile tyrant, Chou Hsin, who, after a life of unexampled debauchery and cruelty, was overthrown by King Wu of Chou. The similarity in the ending of these two dynasties is more than coincidental; it establishes a moral principle. In each case the succeeding dynasty established its moral right to overthrow a tyrant. Chou Hsin, though a sensualist and a tyrant, was a man of no mean ability, but his abuse of personal power, to the extent that the people groaned under oppression, was dangerous for the House of Yin, which had based its claim to power on the right to overthrow rulers on moral grounds. Chou Hsin thus sealed the doom of his dynasty when he ignored the principles of right and justice which had inspired his ancestors to overthrow the House of Hsia.

Chou Dynasty (*circa* 1100–249 B.C.): *the Feudal Empire*

The land of Chou was to the west of the Empire, where the inhabitants acted as a barrier against the Turkic tribes and as colonizers of territory wrested from them. The three founders of the Chou Dynasty were King Wen, his son, King Wu, and his younger brother, Duke Tan. These three men began the dynasty which was to be held up throughout Chinese history as a model.

King Wen of Chou, as the power and extent of his state increased, was created Chieftain of the West by the tyrant Chou Hsin. King Wen is held up by the Chinese as the example of a ruler who, despite the fact that his state comprised two-thirds of the Empire, still paid homage to the House of Yin, and did not falter in his allegiance when Chou Hsin had him imprisoned, but spent his time in confinement working out meanings for the *Book of Changes*.

His son, King Wu (the Warrior King), was the man who actually took the sceptre from the hand of Chou Hsin. In contrast to his father, who is held up as a model of civilian rectitude and loyalty, King Wu's reputation rests entirely

on his military achievements. There is a note of criticism of the actions of Wu in the writings of the Confucian School. In the *Analects*, Confucius stated that the musical rites with which Wu celebrated his victory, although perfectly beautiful, were not perfectly good in their effect, and he contrasted them with the music of Shun, the legendary organizer of the administrative system, which was both perfectly beautiful and perfectly good. It is also related that two men who had sought shelter at the Court of King Wen preferred death rather than life under the new dynasty of King Wu. Despite these criticisms, however, the elevation of Wu to the throne was regarded as the fulfilment of the will of heaven.

The moral strength of the rulers of the new dynasty was soon to be tested. It will be remembered that under the Hsia Dynasty the law of direct succession had been established and though there had been occasional lapses the House of Chou laid down as an inviolable law the sanctity of direct succession. King Wu was an elderly man when he established the dynasty, and he died while his son was still a minor and left the boy under the guardianship of his uncle, Duke Tan. It would have been easy for the uncle, instead of remaining regent, to mount the throne himself and either slay the youthful king or effectively exclude him from the throne for the regent's lifetime. But Duke Tan remained faithful to the principles of the dynasty and carried on the government of the Empire as regent with skill and care—even when two other brothers plotted with the descendants of the pretender to the late dynasty and planned rebellion. These two brothers accused Tan of what was in their own minds, i.e. the usurping of the throne. Tan thereupon withdrew into voluntary exile and continued his father's work on the *Book of Changes*. But the plot was discovered, the brothers branded, the rebellion quelled and the regent restored. It is thus not surprising that Duke Tan has been alluded to throughout the ages by the Chinese as the model type of loyal minister. It needed his brother's military genius to gain the throne, but his loyalty made it secure.

The strength of the Chou Empire lay in the means with which it held the feudal lords and the people together in loyalty

by a mixture of personal patronage for the nobles, benevolent sympathy for the people, and religious ritual for both.

The kings of Chou distributed all fiefs personally. These were given to the legitimate descendants of former dynasties, thus safeguarding against rebellion by these pretenders, as they were bound in feudal allegiance to the new dynasty; to certain kinsmen; and also to vassals who had shown that they deserved such honour. This treatment of these three classes, especially the latter, was one of the strongest props of the Empire. The nobles were subject to no punishment. If any one of them offended gravely he was allowed to take his own life. The people, on the other hand, were subject to a penal code, though it was much less severe than those in force in previous dynasties. This may be regarded as preferential treatment for the privileged classes, but it worked as long as the rulers themselves showed a consistently high standard of morality in their own conduct. It is stated that at the zenith of the power of Chou, penalties, though they existed, had never to be enforced. Confucius records that the ethical perfection of the people of this period was such that "things lost on the road were not picked up". The king regarded the people as a great family and was constantly watching over their needs. The ruler also shared his pleasures with his subjects.

The whole system was bound together by religious ritual. As the feudal lords were vassals of the sovereign, so the sovereign was subject to the Lord of Heaven in his capacity as Son of Heaven; he alone sacrificed to the Lord on High. He also sacrificed to his dynastic ancestors, and the nobles equally sacrificed to theirs as well as to the various deities special to their own feudal state. The right of sacrifice to ancestors graded down to the common people, who had only the right of sacrificing to their own ancestors. This carried with it the natural corollary of correct relationships between members of the family and people and prince mentioned in the previous chapter. There were numerous rituals and ceremonies connected with the above rights, which were imbued with religious significance, from the sacred pantomimic dances to the elaborate burial rites.

In all this lay the chief strength of the Chou Dynasty, but in it was also its weakness. The emphasis thrown on the sovereign and his duties, the fact that he was, as Son of Heaven, a sacred symbol, made the success of the system depend on the ruler's worthiness. If he were seen to be unworthy, then all the elaborate system was a sham. The inheritance of important posts by the feudal lords was also another cause of weakness. The power that these posts gave them was not harmful when both lord and master were capable and virtuous, but the decline of moral prestige in one or the other laid the system open to abuse.

Despite all that was done by the ruler for the people, there still remained a wide gulf between them and the feudal nobility. Knowledge remained a prerogative of the nobility, and the people were only taught just what was necessary for daily life. As long as the people could be bound by the strong cord of the sovereign's goodwill, all was well, but when this cord weakened and snapped the gulf widened and there was discontent.

Even a hundred years after its foundation some weakness can be seen in the House of Chou. King Chao gained the displeasure of the people owing to his excessive indulgence in hunting and the ruthlessness with which he pursued his favourite sport. His son, King Mu, is famous as having travelled far to the west, but there appears to have been little profit from this journey. We read in the records some descriptions of remarkable animals he had seen and of tribute he had secured from savage chieftains.

From this period, the middle of the IXth century B.C., dates the gradual decline of the Feudal Empire. The rulers became decadent and the system began to break down. To this period of decline belongs the story of the Sovereign and the Sorrowful Concubine. King Yu was enamoured of a concubine who refused to smile. She loved the sound of tearing silk, and whole bales of valuable silks were sacrificed to gratify her whim, but she remained melancholy. At last, in a final effort, the King had the beacon-fires lit which were used to summon the feudal lords to take up arms when the throne was in danger. The flurry of the arrival of the lords

and their dumbfounded faces when they learnt that it was a hoax succeeded where all else had failed, and the concubine laughed out loud. But the story ended in tragedy. Later, the barbarians attacked the palace in earnest and the beacon-fires were kindled to summon the lords, but, having been caught once, they refused to be fooled the second time. King Yu was slain and the concubine carried off by the barbarians. This event was presaged by various signs and portents of an ominous nature, and it was one of these, the eclipse of the sun mentioned in the *Book of Odes*, which gives the first indisputable date in Chinese history, namely August 29, 776 B.C.

King Yu's son transferred the capital to Loyang, in north-west Honan, and with this transfer began the Eastern Chou Dynasty and the end of the dynasty as a power in the land. The House of Chou reigned over a small amount of territory round the capital; an area too small to provide any effective power, surrounded as it was by powerful feudal states. The Court was maintained with full rites and ceremonies as before, but it had become merely a hollow show. The only power that the Chou still had was a certain religious authority. It sat like a kind of Vatican City surrounded by its warring neighbours.

The period of the Eastern Chou is divided into two halves, the "Period of Spring and Autumn" (772–482 B.C.)—that is to say, the period which is covered in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*—and the "Period of the Warring States" (484–221 B.C.). The "Spring and Autumn Period" sees the gradual absorption of the hundreds of small feudal states by their more powerful neighbours. Some of these states assumed the leadership of the other feudal states, always, of course, in theory, receiving their instructions from the powerless House of Chou situated in their midst. The Chinese recognize five such hegemonies: that under Duke Huan of Ch'i (685–643), Hsiang of Sung (650–637), Wen of Chin (636–628), Mu of Ch'in (659–621), and Chuang of Ch'u (613–591), and of these the most noteworthy are Huan of Ch'i and Wen of Chin. Other states of importance in this period are Yen, Lu, Cheng, Ch'en, Chao Wu and Yueh. Ch'i and Lu

divided Shantung between them; Sung Wu and Ch'u Yueh were in the south; Chin in Shansi, Ch'in in Shensi and Kansu on the western borders of the Empire; Cheng and Ch'en in Honan, and Chao in Hopei. Yen occupied the district round Peking which once had the name Yenching, the capital of Yen, which name is perpetuated in Yenching University on the outskirts of the modern Peking.

Huan of Ch'i, with his able minister Kuan Chung, established the economic soundness of his state by setting up State monopolies of iron and salt, both of which commodities abounded in Ch'i. They also set out to make life as pleasant as possible in order to attract immigration from other states. Ch'i could also be counted on to help its neighbour states in the event of invasion by barbarians, as in the case of the invasion of Yen by the Jung. This deed received commendation from Confucius when he states: "But for Kuan Chung we should still now be wearing our garments buttoned on the side and our hair down our backs." In the councils of the feudal states it was the policy to try to prevent a military solution of disputes, and peace by negotiation was aimed at, with, of course, Ch'i in the leading position. This was in no sense a usurpation *de jure* of the powers of the House of Chou. It had been legalized by the King confirming the position of Duke Huan as leader of the feudal confederation and even conferring on him the power to punish insubordinate vassals.

Unfortunately, with the death of Kuan Chung and the loss of his counsel, Duke Huan became involved in the chaos of palace intrigues and eventually perished miserably, being immured in his palace till he died of hunger.

The House of Chin was related to the House of Chou, and for a long time this state exercised considerable influence over the Empire. Being on the border, it could expand by annexing the territories of neighbouring barbarian tribes. Ch'in, whose Duke Mu was for a short time leader of the hegemony, was also expanding at the expense of the barbarian tribes in the west, and it owed its vigour to the intermixture of Chinese and foreign blood in its people. But this was the only excursion of Ch'in into feudal politics at this period; for the main part, the policy of Ch'in was to remain

aloof from the struggles of the dying Empire and consolidate its own strength, with what effect will be seen later.

In the south, Wu and Yueh struggled for supremacy round the estuary of the Yangtze, but it was the state of Ch'u which gained the real power in the south, expanding, as did Ch'in in the north-west, into barbarian territories and benefiting by the inflow of new blood.

In the middle of the Vth century B.C. Chin disappeared, being divided among the three leading families of the state, Chao, Wei and Han, who took unto themselves feudal dignities. At the time of the beginning of the "Period of the Warring States" the only original feudal states of importance which were left were Yen and Ch'i and the three successor states to Chin. In the south and the west were the two new states of Ch'in and Ch'u: Ch'u reaching out northward in search of more territories and Ch'in building up its strength behind its frontiers. At this time all pretence of submission to the House of Chou ended. All the feudal states usurped the title and attributes of royalty, most of them in the IVth century B.C., but Ch'u had assumed royal honours as early as the VIIIth century B.C.

It would be wrong to regard this period, full of wars and bloodshed though it is, as the Dark Age of Chinese history. The crumbling of the Chou Empire coincided with the most brilliant achievements of Chinese thought. During this period the Confucian, Taoist and Legalist schools of thought were founded, as well as the short-lived School of Mo Ti. It was as if the decay of the Empire had stimulated the minds of thinkers. Certainly the converse was true, as the unification of the Empire under the Ch'in stifled intellectual thought during the brief period in which it flourished.

The Ch'in Dynasty (221–207 B.C.)

While the other feudal states were busily cutting their own throats by engaging in internecine war, the state of Ch'in remained aloof in the north-west and, save for a brief period, did not get itself embroiled in feudal warfare, but concentrated its energies on building up a powerful autocratic

State mechanism. The state which emerged and which unified the Empire once again was, like the Fascist state of ancient Sparta, one in which all human individuality and desires were subordinate to the State.

The first step in the State organization of Ch'in was to abolish all remnants of the feudal system. Instead of the peasants cultivating the overlord's land for a stated proportion of the year, the rest of the time being devoted to their own profit, a new system was introduced. The peasants were divided into groups of five to ten families. Families with more than two male members were divided or had to pay double taxes. This system was, of course, directly opposed to the doctrine of "the great family" as preached by the Confucian School of Lu and based on the Chou Empire. The whole course of the citizen's life was strictly controlled, the number of fields to be held, servants to be employed, etc., and the whole system was bound together by an ordinance making each member of the family group responsible for the acts of the others, a course resulting in constant mutual supervision and suspicion. Every man was liable throughout his life for military service, and the military received preferential treatment and all officials bore arms. The law was enforced with rigorous severity; there were few rewards, save for military achievements, and many and severe punishments. The philosophical excuse for this soulless system was found in the School of the Legalists, based on the doctrine that man's nature is essentially evil. The other feudal states, torn by internecine strife and petty jealousies, fell easy victims to the Ch'in rulers. Even Ch'u, a state which also had had an invigorating infusion of foreign blood, was overcome and the state of Ch'in was master of the Empire, while the ruler of the Ch'eng state assumed the title of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, "The first Emperor of Ch'in". The assumption of the title Huang Ti, "Emperor", was one of the new ruler's many innovations. Previously all rulers had been known as *Waung*, "King", or *Tien Tzu*, "Son of Heaven", or by such titles as they were given in the ancestral temple; but all this was swept away by Ch'in, and in future all rulers were to be known only by the number of their places in the Imperial line "down

to the ten thousandth generation". This grandiose prophecy was not fulfilled, as the dynasty perished miserably with the second Emperor. Readers will remember another state which was to last for a thousand years but was destroyed in its thirteenth year of evil life.

The whole system of government was ruthlessly overhauled. The feudal states were abolished and the Empire was divided into provinces—a system which has survived to this day. In place of the feudal system a rigid bureaucracy was set up to govern the country. The civil and military authorities were kept apart, the civil service being under a prime minister and the military under a general, who had no say in the running of the country. The two sides were only united in the person of the Emperor. This split continued right down the scale to provincial and local government. There was also a Board of Censors, whose function it was to control the officials. All officials, whatever their rank, were granted their appointments by the Emperor, who thus had an admirably forged weapon for his absolute and centralized monarchy. A standard system of weights and measures and a new Chinese script were introduced. Han Fei Tzu, mentioned above as an exponent of the Legalist school of philosophy, was one of the men employed by the Emperor to carry out his reforms. He eventually fell out of favour and was thrown into prison, where he committed suicide.

Li Ssu was Ch'in Shih Huang Ti's greatest prime minister and is popularly regarded in Chinese history as the Emperor's evil genius who drove him to the excesses which he committed. This view is explainable by the fact that he gained the enmity of the orthodox School of Lu; not unnaturally, as all his reforms were in direct contradiction to their philosophy, and it was this school which, after the fall of the dynasty, gained ascendancy and thus laid all the blame on its ancient enemy. He is generally blamed for the Burning of the Books, which took place in 213 B.C.; an event whose consequences have occasionally been exaggerated. It is certain that equal harm was done to literary and art treasures by the burning of the Ch'in capital at the end of the dynasty. Li Ssu adopted a policy of radical change, claiming that the military conquest

of the Empire would only be effective when the old customs and ceremonies had been rooted out and new ones substituted. This policy was, of course, severely attacked by the Confucianists, who based their theories on ancient writings, and so Li Ssu decided on the bold step of ordering the destruction of all the literature except such works as dealt with agriculture, medicine or divination. Copies of the works ordered to be destroyed were, however, kept in the Imperial Library, which went up in flames at the end of the dynasty. This move was designed effectively to counteract the Confucian idea of putting education into the hands of private persons, where criticism and freedom of thought might flourish, and to put education, like everything else, under State control. This control of thought was further assisted by a strict censorship.

The military machine could not be left idle, even when the Empire was under the rigid rule of the Ch'ins. It was sent north to fight the Hsiung-nu (the Huns), who, during the disturbances at the end of the Chou Dynasty, had established themselves on a line in the north from Korea to Kansu. The Imperial troops drove the Huns out of the great bend of the Yellow River, and the various frontier fortifications which had been previously built by the feudal states in the north to protect the territories from the invaders were consolidated into a connected line which is the beginning of the world-famous Great Wall of China, "The Wall Ten Thousand Li Long". The wall was built mostly by convict labour, many of the convicts perishing during the erection of this colossal monument to a dictator's will.

In 210 Ch'in Shih Huang Ti died and was buried with great pomp in a vast burial mound, and with him were buried not only priceless treasures but also his concubines and the workmen who had built the burial chamber, so that the secret of the machinery which barred the way to the treasure-house should be buried with him. He was succeeded by his son, whose ineptitude was only exceeded by the brevity of his reign. The only notable act committed by this Chinese Richard Cromwell was the execution, in a most horrible manner, of his father's minister Li Ssu.

Thus ended the Ch'in Dynasty. It had been guilty of countless cruelties and injustices, but it had succeeded in unifying the Empire and starting a line of dynasties which continued till 1911. Many of its reforms, especially those restricting the freedom of the individual and of thought, perished with it, but it left a legacy of a unified country and a standard system in such things as weights, measures and currency which continued from that time forward. The greatest harm effected by this dynasty was the wanton destruction of human life and the records of the past, together with a studied corruption of men's minds. The introduction of the new script also contributed to confusion, as when such books as had escaped destruction at the end of the Chou and during the Ch'in Dynasty came to light, the ancient script was not readily decipherable, and few could read it with ease. The books also had to be transcribed into the new script, and thus there were two ways in which errors could, and did, creep in.

The Han Dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 220)

Of all Chinese dynastic dates, those of the Han Dynasty are the easiest to remember, as the dynasty is divided into two roughly equal parts lasting for two hundred years, and the division coincides approximately with the advent of the Christian era. In many ways this period was the Golden Age of China, as, though literature and art did not reach the perfection to be realized under the Tang and the Sung, yet the Empire now saw its greatest period of expansion so far, stretching as far south as Annam and as far west as Persia. It was an age of territorial expansion, and this expansion brought with it the first Chinese contacts with the West. It was in the course of this dynasty that Buddhism reached China, with its far-reaching effect on Chinese culture.

From among the figures who struggled for mastery among the wreckage of the Ch'in Dynasty emerged the figure of Liu Pang. A crafty and unsentimental peasant, he first appeared as Duke of P'ei, and later, having defeated his rivals, as the first Han Emperor, Kao Ti. The new Emperor was nothing

if not a realist. He realized that although, on the one hand, it was necessary for China for the existing system of officials and government to continue, yet it was also necessary to reward those who had helped him reach the throne. To this end, he rewarded all his supporters with territory, but left the already established civil service virtually undisturbed. Thus, in effect, the feudal states and the new system of government as instituted under the Ch'in existed side by side; though the feudal states were but a shadow of what they had been. The new Emperor also realized the danger to the Empire which might arise from the jealousy of powerful feudal princes and kept a watchful eye on them. On the slightest excuse he took back the newly-given fiefs from his vassals and assigned them to members of the House of Han. One after another, the feudal states were thus incorporated into the ownership of the Imperial family. Kao Ti hoped by these means to secure the perpetual supremacy of his own House by the elimination of potential rivals; but, once he had removed the rivals from outside, the selfsame difficulty arose with members of his own family, who quarrelled among themselves and intrigued for the supreme power. The only solution was rigid control, and this was achieved in the early days of the dynasty. The Emperor's wife, who ruled after him as the Empress Lu, also handled the situation in regard to the Han princes with typical firmness. In the end, the only relics of the feudal states were the empty titles. Those invested with the states resided in the capital, but they enjoyed only the ghostly title with none of the territorial substance of feudal princes.

The Empire was also divided into provinces, which at first had existed side by side with the feudal states. With the abolition of the latter, the Empire was ultimately divided into thirteen provinces, each sub-divided into chief prefectures and districts. This system has persisted up to the present day.

The geographical expansion of the Han Empire, the consequent expansion of trade and the impetus towards urban development which resulted, naturally led to the extension of the monetary system. Up till this time the basis of currency

was its metallic value, and, indeed, as far as silver was concerned, this basis lasted until the end of the Empire in 1911. But, owing to the metal shortage, the Emperor Wu Ti minted alloy coins in 119 B.C. These were, however, easily forged and had to be withdrawn from circulation. Their place was taken by stamped pieces of white deerskin from deer bred in the Imperial parks. These strips carried high monetary values and can be considered as the forerunners of paper currency, which became widespread from T'ang times.

Before detailing the purely geographical expansion of the Han Empire, a brief survey of contemporary intellectual developments may be made. The first Emperor, Kao Ti, was a person of no great intellectual attainments, regarding culture with the utmost contempt, concerning himself with the purely practical task of founding his new Empire. He permitted Court ceremonies based on those customary during the previous dynasty. He did not, however, rescind Ch'in Shih Huang's ban on Confucian writings, and it was not until much later in the dynasty that the triumph of Confucianism was secured. It would be wrong, however, to regard the Confucianism of this date as the complete and unalloyed expression of the ideals of the School of Lu. A certain amount of material had been adopted from the Taoists and the Legalists. The only philosophical school already mentioned which was doomed to perish was that of Mo Ti, which was too abstractly idealistic. Its doctrine of universal love combined with strict asceticism was one which could not satisfy the practical side of the Chinese nature. The first step towards the establishment of Confucianism as a State philosophy was the setting up of the Confucian Canon. This comprised the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Odes*, the *Book of Poetry*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (three versions of which were authorized), the *Tso Chuan*, the *Record of Rites*, the *Chou Li* and *I Li*, the *Analects*, the *Book of Filial Piety*, the *Works of Mencius* and the dictionary *Erh Ya*. These works were engraved on stone and stood as the standard texts of the new Confucian School.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the part which this triumph of the neo-Confucian School plays in the

history of Chinese civilization. The Empire was thereby given a standard and authorized State philosophy which moulded the course of Chinese history by keeping the Emperor and the civil service attached to a form of government and conduct which remained virtually unchanged till the Nationalist Revolution. Certain Emperors might fall into the hands of magicians or be converted to Buddhism, or later even to Christianity, but the main lines of State government were clearly laid down; and whatever erratic course might be steered by any individual Emperor, the ship of State always swung back into the broad stream of Confucianism. It was not a notably progressive doctrine; indeed a doctrine which was founded on the idea that all justification for present action must be found in the precepts and practices of antiquity hardly could be so. It inevitably tended towards a form of absolute monarchy ruling through bureaucracy, for which idea little justification could be found in pure Confucianism, but nevertheless it retained its hold, and its persistence accounts largely for the continuity of Chinese civilization. This establishment of Confucianism and the rigid code-behaviour associated with it might have resulted in intellectual stagnation but for the steady geographical expansion of the Empire, which brought into the intellectual circles of China new conceptions and ideas, and finally the introduction of Buddhism.

The period of the greatest expansion of the Western Han occurred under the Emperor Wu Ti (140–87 B.C.). For a long time the Huns (or Hsiung-nu) had menaced the northern borders of the Empire. Sporadic counter-expeditions had only exercised a temporary restraint on the marauders, and it was obvious that something decisive would have to be undertaken in order to remove the danger from the frontiers once and for all. It had proved useless merely to drive the enemy back, since, as soon as the military force was withdrawn each time, they returned to their harassing tactics. A policy of systematic and gradual colonization of the border territories wrested from the Huns was now adopted. The operations were not purely military or economic; at times political marriages played their part. There are stories of Han prin-

cesses married to Hsiung Nu chieftains and the suffering caused by feelings of divided loyalty as between their children in the territory of the Hsiung Nu and their native land. Equally moving are the tales of Chinese generals captured and held imprisoned by the enemy. One tells of a Chinese official, captured by the Huns, who was forced to tend sheep on the steppes, but while engaged in this humble task kept by him always his staff of office until, after nineteen years of captivity, he managed to return home.

In the early days of the struggle against the Huns, Wu Ti set out to enlist the aid of the Yueh-chih (Indo-Scythians or *Getae*), who had been defeated by the Hsiung Nu and thirsted for revenge. For this task he selected Chang Ch'ien, one of China's most famous travellers. After many difficulties, including ten years' captivity among the Huns, Chang Ch'ien penetrated into the Tarim basin, the Greek kingdom of Sogdiana, and even reached Ferghana. He also discovered an overland route to India via Kabul and Khotan. His journey was the means of opening up a route which led to the eastern borders of the Roman Empire, the inhabitants of which were known to the Chinese as Ta Ch'in, while the Chinese were called by the Romans the Seres ("silk people"). Chang Ch'ien also brought back with him the grape vine, the walnut, the jointed bamboo, and the hemp plant. As a result of his journey, the Chinese were able to set up colonies to the westward, in territory which they held for centuries afterwards, and also to open up a route, tenuous and difficult but still practicable, to the Western world.

Korea was incorporated into the Empire under Wu Ti, and the southern portions of China were also brought firmly under Chinese rule.

Though the reign of Wu Ti is regarded by the Chinese as one of the Golden Ages of Chinese history, signs of internal decay were beginning to manifest themselves in his day. The Court gradually became corrupt, and the causes for the decay were, as is, unfortunately, only too common in the history of China, the increasing influence of women and eunuchs. A Court lady who received Imperial favour not only saw to it that she secured wealth and dignities for herself

but demanded and obtained them for her relatives also. Thus there came into being various influential groups of royal parasites who maintained their power without any intrinsic merit of their own, until the favourite was supplanted. The relatives of the Court ladies at least came from well-educated families, and thus their influence might not be too deleterious; but this could not be said for the rabble of self-seeking eunuchs which filled the Court and had a pernicious influence on the education and general upbringing of the direct members of the Imperial family. The danger of the establishment of a "dynasty" was, for obvious reasons, less great in these cases, but their lack of education and habits made their bad effect equally great. To add to these influences, there was also the effect wrought by the Court magicians and sorcerers, who encouraged the growth of superstitions within the Court.

Even Wu Ti was not immune from these influences. As a result of a eunuch-inspired intrigue, his superstitious fears were so worked upon that he ordered the death of his son, the Crown Prince, and drove his Empress to suicide and exterminated her family. This was not one isolated incident: the whole history of Han Court life is a long tale of intrigue and consequent disaster.

With the increase of plot and counter-plot, leading to struggles for supremacy and the burden of foreign wars, combined with the emphasis on urban development, the taxation of the unhappy peasant became greater and the social system fell into anarchy. The rulers became weaker and more dependent on the influence of the ministers, and it seemed at one time as though the Han Dynasty might end with Wu Ti.

Under the rule of the Emperors Ai Ti and P'ing Ti, a relative of the Empress Wang, a certain Wang Mang rose to power. His policy appealed to a section of the Confucian School, and he was quite clearly a man of marked ability. He poisoned the Emperor P'ing Ti and set on the throne a child in whose name, he announced, he would administer the affairs of State on the lines of Duke Tan of Chou. Unlike the Duke, however, he disposed of the child and ascended the throne himself.

Wang Mang's policy was nothing if not thorough. He decided that it was necessary to sweep away all the State machinery which had grown up under the Han and substitute for it a new order of society founded on what he considered to be the ideals of antiquity. He set up new ministries with names which linked them to the Golden Age of Yao and Shun; he seized all private estates and farmed the land out to the peasants. Wang Mang also attempted far-reaching reforms in currency and the economic system. These reforms were not without merit, but Wang Mang tried to obtain his Utopia at one stroke by a series of sweeping reforms. Decree followed on decree, edict on edict, with the result that no one knew from day to day what was effective in this welter of legislation. The State machine broke down, and the people, forgetting the corruption and abuses of the old days, longed for the return of the former Han Dynasty.

Among the leaders of the bandit forces which established themselves all over the country at the end of the Western Han and during the rule of Wang Mang was a certain Liu Hsin, who was descended from a former Han Emperor. He gathered behind him a large following and opposed Wang Mang. The latter was defeated, the capital at Ch'ang An went up in flames, and Wang Mang perished while in flight. His reign, which lasted from A.D. 9–25, was treated as an interregnum and all records of it were struck out of official chronicles.

Liu Hsin ascended the throne as the Emperor Kuang Wu and started the Eastern Han Dynasty (A.D. 25–220), so called because the capital was transferred to Loyang. Kuang Wu, unlike his predecessor, Liu Pang, the founder of the Western Han, was no crafty peasant but a man of wide learning and deep culture. He was not content, as Liu Pang had been, for the ceremonial of his Court to be put together in a shoddy and piecemeal fashion by a second-rate Confucian scholar. Kuang Wu really applied the principles of Confucian State philosophy in his government of the people. Not only were the relations between ruler and minister perfectly harmonious, but the new Emperor kept in touch with the people and was always ready to listen to their petitions. Education was encouraged and proper reverence was paid to scholars. In

fact, the reign of Kuang Wu was the intellectual peak of the dynasty.

Buddhism was officially introduced into China in the reign of Ming Ti, who sent a mission to India in 61–67 to procure, so it is said, a golden image which had been seen by him in a dream. The mission returned with sutras and images and Buddhism began to make itself felt as an influence in Chinese civilization. It is likely that Buddhist ideas were not unknown to the Chinese before the arrival of the mission, owing to the contact that the Chinese had had with the Buddhist tribes in the west. The religion did not spread widely at once from a variety of causes, the chief of which was, of course, the lack of means of rapid internal communications. Wang Ch'ung, one of the most learned and acute of Chinese essayists, who died in A.D. 96, never once mentions Buddhism, although he gives the most complete picture of all other current beliefs. Moreover, Chinese ideas of family life made monastic existence abhorrent to the majority, and it was not until several centuries later that monastery life was specifically permitted by the State.

The advent of Buddhism also had an effect on the Taoist School. Taoism had gradually degenerated, and at this time the followers of Lao Tzu were either engaged in the pursuit of the philosophers' stone or else in attempting to cure the ills of the world through magic charms. Under the influence of Buddhism, Lao Tzu was gradually elevated to the position of a divinity and set up as a rival to Buddha himself, and he was henceforward worshipped under the title of "Great and Ancient Prince on High".

During the Eastern Han the conquered areas in the west, which had been sadly neglected during the interregnum, were reinforced and Chinese suzerainty was consolidated, the great generals of this time being Ma Yuan and Pan Ch'ao. A mission reporting itself as from "King An-tun of Ta Ch'in" (*An-tun* being the Chinese transcription of Antoninus, i.e., Marcus Aurelius Antoninus of Rome, Emperor A.D. 161–180) arrived in China in 166. Similarly, paper, which had been invented in China in 105, found its way to the West, as did the later invention of block printing.

In spite of the warning example of Kuang Wu, the dynasty began to decline. As with the Western Han, the cause was Court intrigues led by the eunuchs. There were collisions in 166 and 169; and in the later revolt the eunuchs managed to secure the person of the Emperor, and they also caused the destruction of a large number of scholars, who were unjustly accused of plotting against the throne. The dynasty perished in a bloody struggle between the relatives of the then Empress and the eunuchs. The Emperor was kidnapped by a general and the capital went up in flames which spared nothing, not even the ancestral tombs. Thus perished the Han Dynasty, though it was to linger, if only on paper, a little longer in the person of the Emperor, who was rescued from the general who kidnapped him. The respite was brief, however; he was saved only to fall into the hands of one of the three rivals who occupy the stage for the next period of Chinese history.

The achievements of the dynasty had been not inconsiderable. The Empire had been extended farther to the west than ever before. Pan Ch'ao had indeed contemplated attacking the outposts of Ta Ch'in, the Roman Empire. He had regained the lost Empire as far as the Pamirs in 97, and one of his officers, who had led the advance until the Persian Gulf was reached, was dissuaded from further adventures by the local population. It was no fault of Chang Ch'ien or of Pan Ch'ao that in the struggles which followed the fall of the House of Han all their achievements crumbled away and their cities were buried under the desert sand. The results of the opening of the road to the West have been noted. The impact of Buddhism was beginning to make itself felt. In spite of the squalor of the Court intrigues and jealousies which led to the downfall of the earlier and later Han dynasties, the period was one of expansion and real greatness. The Chinese are still proud to call themselves "Sons of Han".

The Three Kingdoms (221–265)

Apart from the Court conflicts mentioned above, there were also at the time of the fall of the Han a number of popular risings, the principal one being led by the Yellow Turbans, a

Taoist secret society. This society provides an early example of the close connection between religious societies and political upheavals so characteristic of all periods of Chinese history. The Boxers, or "Society of Harmonious Fists", is a more modern successor of the Yellow Turbans, but it is in the direct line of descent.

The period of the Three Kingdoms has often been described as the Arthurian period of Chinese history. It is a period of struggle between three martial figures and has been chronicled in a novel of the Yuan period, *The San Kuo Chih Yen I*, or *History of the Three Kingdoms*, which is still immensely popular in China. The General Ts'ao Ts'ao managed to seize the person of the last Han Emperor and his son and set up his own dynasty in the north, with the capital at Loyang, under the name of Wei. The south was divided between the dynasties of Wu and Han, the former under Sun Ch'uan and the latter under a scion of the House of Han, Liu Pei.

Ts'ao Ts'ao is traditionally regarded by the Chinese as the talented traitor *par excellence*; a man of resolute character and undoubted ability, not only in the field but also in literature. There are still extant essays and poems of his, as well as a reasoned commentary on *Sun Tzu Ping Fa*, the oldest military treatise in the world, yet he is always accused by the Chinese of treachery and unscrupulousness. He is represented on the Chinese stage—much given to representing episodes from this period—with a dead white face—the sign of treachery and cunning. His dynasty was never recognized officially by Chinese historians, though it controlled a larger portion of the Empire than either of his rivals. His attempt to conquer the south was frustrated in the Battle of the Red Wall (208), when his entire fleet was destroyed on the Yangtze.

Ts'ao Ts'ao's rival in the south, Liu Pei, had the able assistance of General Kuan Yü, who was later deified as the God of War, and of the master of Chinese strategy, Chu-ko Liang.

The Chin Dynasty (265–313)

A general from Wei managed to join together the states of Wei, Han and Wu into a unified state with the capital at

Loyang. But this unification did not procure the re-establishment of order. China was entering her Dark Age when dynasty followed short-lived dynasty, the Empire in the west crumbled, and North China came under the rule of the northern barbarians.

The Dark Ages of the IVth Century

The Turki and Mongolian tribes in the north gradually became more powerful. The capitals of Loyang and Ch'ang-an were pillaged in 311 and 316. The Chins were gradually forced south—first south of the Yellow River, and later south of the Yangtze—and their capital was transferred to Nanking. Till the end of the VIth century China was divided into two competing regimes, the North and the South.

The most important of the barbarian states to be founded in the north was that of the Toba Tartars, who managed to gain control over their barbarian neighbours and set up the Northern Wei Dynasty (386–535), with its capital first at Yün-kang and later at Loyang. It would be wrong to regard this dynasty as being entirely uncouth and barbarian. The new conquerors quickly adopted Chinese ways and adapted themselves to the culture of their subjects. The House of Wei was the first dynasty to declare Buddhism an authorized religion, and the Buddhist sculptures at Yün-kang and Lung-men are world-famous. In the middle of the VIth century the Wei Dynasty divided itself into four short-lived dynasties; and in the south the overthrow of the Chin in 420 by a rebel general led to the establishment of various transitory dynasties, none of which lasted for more than sixty years.

The disorders consequent on barbarian invasion and internal revolt did not completely stultify intellectual development. The combination of new blood from the north and a new religion from the west, coupled with the sturdy courage of the Confucian scholars, kept intellectual life going in face of wars and revolutions. A new school of thought grew up in this period which rejected the political concepts of Confucianism and instead devoted itself to free-thinking metaphysics on Taoist lines. These thinkers extolled the virtues of vacuity,

pleaded for an anarchist state, and drowned the sorrows of the world in wine. The most famous of this coterie was T'ao Yuan-ming, whose writings have been read by succeeding generations as models of elegance and style.

During this period China was once again thrust back within itself. The aristocratic families regarded the northern barbarians and the *bourgeois* upstarts with equal distaste. This was especially the case in the north, where, in spite of decrees, the great families still persisted in intermarrying to keep their blood free from barbarian taint. In the south the aristocracy was less particular, as the ruling houses were still of moderately unmixed blood and their tenure of power was secure enough. By degrees the plebeians worked their way into the noble families, or the latter sank into oblivion, and from this time all Chinese became "Sons of Han" and equally aristocratic.

This temporary seclusion of China was salutary in some respects. At least it enabled her to absorb the foreign tribes and the new religion and gather enough strength to form herself into a united nation once again.

Sui Dynasty (589–618)

By 586 the north had been unified under the Northern Chou Dynasty, and it was a successful general from the reunited north who once again brought the whole of China under one ruler. This general, Yang Ch'ien, Duke of Sui, deposed the child emperor and declared himself Emperor, taking as the title for the dynasty that of his dukedom. There appears to be no particular reason why the Sui Dynasty should have united the Empire rather than any other of the numerous shortlived dynasties which went before. The fact that it was the Sui which performed this task is largely accidental; there was certainly little sign of any inherent merit in its two rulers. The first was weak and hesitating, and the second an unrestrained debauchee. The trend of the times and the spirit of China were running strongly towards unification, and the Sui Dynasty was the instrument to that end. The dynasty was not an ideal one for the task of con-

solidating the Empire, and it was quickly superseded by the T'ang Dynasty, which restored once again the ancient glories of Imperial China. Nevertheless, during its short period of power the Sui accomplished a great deal. The Great Wall was extended and the work on the Imperial Canal was begun. Although originally intended as a means to enable the Emperor to go in comfort from his capital at Ch'ang-an to his palace on the Yangtze, the Imperial Canal has been of inestimable benefit to succeeding generations. The linking of the two chief waterways of China, the Yangtze and the Yellow River, has provided cheap transport through all the centuries down to to-day.

At the end of the Sui Dynasty rebellions broke out and the whole Empire was divided up among rebels, all contending for Imperial power. The Emperor and other members of the Imperial House perished in the struggles which ensued. The dynasty had achieved little but the unification of the Empire, but that act alone was sufficient justification for its existence. As the proverb has it: "That which has long been united shall fall into separation, and that which has long been sundered shall again be united."

T'ang Dynasty (618–907)

A whole volume would be needed to deal adequately with the fascinating story of the rise to power of the T'ang Dynasty and with the personality of its founder, Li Shih-min, afterwards the Emperor Tai Tsung (627–650).

Li Yuan, the father of Li Shih-min, had been a general under the Sui Dynasty. He himself had not been anxious to join the rebels, who squabbled over the dismembered remnants of the Sui Empire. His son, however, was of different calibre; he displayed great ability in the art of war, with a high standard of culture and intelligence, and although not the first Emperor, as he placed his father on the throne, he was the virtual founder of that dynasty which, perhaps more than any other, combined intellectual, political and territorial development of the Empire. With, at first, comparatively small forces Li Shih-min subdued his rivals and

united the Empire, setting up his father as Emperor in Ch'ang-an under the reign-name Kao Tsu. Li Shih-min was not the eldest son, and his elder brother, the Crown Prince, jealous of his younger brother's greater abilities (the Crown Prince had not distinguished himself in such military operations as had been entrusted to him), intrigued against him. The intrigues were discovered, and the result was that it was Li Shih-min who ascended the throne in succession to his father, who abdicated shortly afterwards. He took the reign-name of T'ai Tsung.

Since the end of the Han Dynasty there had been a steady inflow of foreign blood into China, and this had the result of reinvigorating the Chinese nation. The Tartars and Mongols had been absorbed and China was once more really united in a composite whole rather than as a collection of warring factions and clans. There had taken place that process which was to save Chinese civilization more than once in the centuries to follow: the capacity to absorb into the framework of its culture and daily life the various alien elements which swept over the land. Li Shih-min had foreign blood in his veins, and of the ninety-eight prime ministers who came to power under the T'ang, twelve were of foreign descent. They regarded themselves, nevertheless, as true Chinese. Li Shih-min was not only Emperor of China but also Great Khan of the Hsiung-nu, the Uighurs and the other alien tribes who had from time to time ravaged China, but which were now being absorbed into Chinese civilization. Intercourse with the west was resumed under the T'ang, though the southern pass across the Pamirs was blocked by the Tibetans. Traffic was not only by land but also by sea, Chinese sea-going junks penetrating as far as the Persian Gulf. The Buddhist scriptures were brought back from India, and Haroun-al-Raschid sent emissaries to the Emperor.

Li Shih-min, having united China, now turned to a campaign against the Turks. (This campaign was fought between 624 and 630.) At this period the way to the north was still barred by the Turks and other tribes, and the way to the west by the Tibetans.

There have been three general Chinese policies towards

the tribes on their frontiers. First, the policy of all-out conquest, as undertaken by the Hans; secondly, the purely defensive policy of remaining behind the Great Wall, which was followed in China's periods of internal weakness; and thirdly, a compromise policy, which aimed at breaking up the hostile tribes by campaigns and intrigue together so as to set up an insulating band of subdued tribes between China proper and the wild tribes beyond. It was this policy which was adopted by Li Shih-min.

At the time of the opening of the campaign the Turks were under the rule of Qadir Khan, who owed his elevation to his wife, a Sui princess who had first married the reigning Khan, then his son, and lastly his brother, Qadir, when he succeeded him. On the fall of the Sui Dynasty she became the inveterate foe of the House of T'ang and urged her successive husbands to undertake active hostilities against the new dynasty. Up to 626, the year in which Li Shih-min ascended the throne, the Turks under Qadir made a series of raids into China, and so menacing did they become that there was serious talk of moving the capital from Ch'ang-an, as it was felt that its riches acted as a lodestone to the Turkish hordes. All these forays, however, were successfully repulsed by Li Shih-min and his generals, both by military skill and other means. For instance, once Qadir was induced to withdraw his forces, as Li Shih-min had managed to instil doubts into his mind as to the loyalty of Qadir's nephew. On another occasion the Chinese general sent two singing girls to the top of a small hill, where they performed lascivious dances which so distracted the attention of the Turkish forces that the Chinese were able to fall upon them unawares.

On Li Shih-min's accession to the throne, Qadir realized that he was no longer fighting against a weak and disunited China. He had invaded in force at the time of the intrigues by the Crown Prince and the abdication of Li Shih-min's father, hoping to find a distracted rule at the capital. The new Emperor was, however, firmly in the saddle, and Qadir, far from his base, and in great danger of complete defeat, concluded a treaty of peace and the Turks withdrew from China.

The treaty did not, however, prevent Li Shih-min from

sending an expedition against the last of the Chinese pretenders, an ally and vassal of the Khan, who held out in the country north of the Great Wall in the loop of the Yellow River. Qadir sent troops to help the pretender, but to no avail. A rival Khan, with whom the Chinese entered into relations, was set up by tribes. Qadir later began his old tricks of raiding the Chinese border, and, as a result, an expedition was sent out by Li Shih-min in 629 to subdue him. After a victorious campaign the whole of Inner Mongolia, up to the borders of the Gobi Desert, came under Chinese suzerainty, and the Emperor assumed the additional title of "Heavenly Khan" at the suggestion of the newly subjected Turkish Khans.

Later in his reign, Li Shih-min sent an expedition against the T'u-yu-hun, who lived in the Kokonor area. One part of the force was sent to the north, along the mountains to the south of Kokonor Lake, while the other made a remarkable march over the lofty K'un Lun Mountains to the south, along a route which the T'u-yu-hun ruler thought to be totally impassable, and this "pincer movement" enabled the Chinese forces totally to destroy the enemy. The Tibetans, impressed by this victory, sent an embassy to the T'ang Court to ask for a princess for their king. The request was couched in arrogant terms and was refused, which so infuriated the Tibetans that they invaded western Ssuchuan. They were roundly defeated by the Chinese and forced to take refuge in their mountain strongholds. Their next embassy to ask for a princess conducted itself more in accordance with Chinese etiquette and the request was granted. In 640 the King of Karahodjo, or Kao Cheng, beyond the north-west borders of Kansu and on the silk road to the west, with its capital at Turfan, rebelled against the Chinese and refused to continue sending tribute. His revolt was as unsuccessful as others had been, his army was destroyed, and his territory annexed to the Chinese Empire. Thus the border territory to the north and the west had been subdued, the road to the west was open, and the frontiers on the north were safe.

The closing years of the Emperor's life were marred by tragedy. His son, the Crown Prince, was found to be con-

spiring against his life and had to be banished, and died shortly after in exile. Others of the Imperial family and entourage were found to be implicated, and a younger son was nominated Crown Prince and succeeded his father, reigning as Kao Tsung. Li Shih-min also at this period sent an expedition to Korea, which, though it defeated the Korean army, did not subjugate the entire country. A revolt by the Turks, however, encouraged by what appeared to be signs of Imperial weakness, was firmly suppressed.

T'ai Tsung died in 649. His successor, Kao Tsung, came under the domination of an ex-concubine of his father whom he married. She murdered the Empress and set herself up as the Empress Wu. A remarkable woman, like her predecessor the Han Empress Lu, she dominated the Empire for fifty years. Her reign was marked by acts of cruelty and despotism, but the Empire remained intact under her firm guidance.

Under T'ai Tsung the T'ang Empire reached the zenith of its power, but his descendants did little to maintain it and much that was destined to undo it. The story of the T'ang Dynasty is one of a gradual decline, in which the familiar figures of Court favourites, concubines and eunuchs played their usual parts. With the waning of Imperial power came a literary and artistic revival which makes this dynasty outstanding. Ming Huang (Hsuan Tsung) may have plunged the Empire into a rebellion which cost the Empire thirty-six million lives, yet at his Court the arts attained their full glory.

It was under the T'ang that the Examination System became fully organized. The Sui had devised the system in order to break the power of the local aristocracy to nominate their candidates for office, but the dynasty was too short-lived to complete the reform. Under the T'ang the system was perfected. Originally the tests comprised examinations in the various sciences and arts, such as literature, mathematics, law and history, but soon the examination was based mainly on a knowledge of the classics, the works most highly esteemed at this period being the *Book of Rites* and the *Tso Chuan*. Though it naturally occurred that the sons of the rich were able to get a better education, and thus a greater chance to succeed, yet the system enabled new blood to be imported

into the bureaucracy and gave an opportunity to the man of humblest origin to reach the highest rank. Under Ming Huang was founded the famous Han Lin Academy, the "Forest of Pencils", into which were admitted only the men who had passed the highest grade of examination. It was the *corps d'élite* of scholars, and to be a member of this Academy was to be certain of high office. An Oxford man once compared it with a Fellowship of All Souls, and that is perhaps to underestimate its value in China.

T'ang poetry has already been mentioned. Not only did the poets express their own feelings and experiences, but this period saw the birth of the fashion of readapting old material, especially from the Han, the old jewel, as it were, its beauty enhanced by a new setting. In this time also sprang up a new prose style whose greatest exponent was Han Yu. The old style, in which concise semi-rhythmical phrases were balanced one against the other, had become highly stylized and artificial. In fact, prose in the time of the early T'ang was largely a composition within rigid stylistic limits. A movement developed with the object of breaking these barriers through and setting up a simple naturalistic style. This movement reached its peak in Han Yu, an ardent Confucianist who was bitterly opposed to Taoist and Buddhist superstitions. This movement went hand in hand with the poetry of the period. Po Chu-I is supposed to have read all his poems over to an old village woman and revised them until they were perfectly intelligible to her. The movement in poetry and prose was an attempt to bring the literary style back to the colloquial language, and its effects can be compared with that of the novels of the Ming Dynasty and the movement towards colloquial writing under the Republic.

The dynasty also saw the introduction of Islam. It is stated that Mohammed sent letters to the three greatest rulers of his time. Heraclius in Rome, Chosroes in Persia, and T'ai Tsung in Ch'ang An. Heraclius ignored the letter, Chosroes tore it to pieces, and only T'ai Tsung read it and allowed the Arabs to build the first mosque in China in Canton. Islam flourished until the incidence of the persecutions

under the fanatical Taoist Wu Tsung. The rebellions at the end of the dynasty under Huang Ch'ao destroyed Canton, and in the destruction many Mohammedans perished also.

Buddhism was enriched by the bringing in of the Sanskrit texts of the Buddhistic Canon from India for translation into Chinese. It, too, suffered under the persecutions of Wu Tsung, but it still remained the chief religion of China. One Emperor, who received with great pomp and even greater credulity a supposed finger-bone of Buddha, drew down a sharp rebuke from Han Yu. The period also saw the introduction of Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism, but neither of these survived.

The first steps in the decline of the Empire came in the reign of Ming Huang (713–756). Acting under evil counsel, the garrisons in the north were weakened and the country laid open for the Turkish invasions which were later to destroy the dynasty. In his old age Ming Huang became enamoured of one of his concubines, the famous Yang Kuei Fei, and he took her into his own seraglio. Here she began the undermining of the Empire, using her remarkable beauty and wit to gain all her ends from Ming Huang. She saw to it that her brother, a stupid, inefficient man, was made Prime Minister. Her power imperilled the life of a Turkish general, An Lu-shan, who revolted. The Emperor had to leave the capital, and on the road the troops demanded the lives of Yang Kuei Fei and the Prime Minister. Heart-broken, the Emperor had to agree. He abdicated shortly afterwards. Meanwhile An Lu-shan had sacked the capital. Rebellion spread all over the Empire, and order was only restored with the aid of the Turfans and the Uighurs. The rest of the dynasty is a melancholy tale of risings and rebellions, Court intrigues and weak Emperors. Out of the eighteen rulers of the dynasty only eight died natural deaths. Three abdicated, and the rest were either murdered or died from the effects of drinking potions called the "elixir of immortality", with which they hoped to prolong their days.

The reasons for the decay of the glorious T'ang Dynasty are not far to seek. In spite of the high degree of democratization which made possible the entry into Government

service, through the Examination System, of all social grades, this enlightened process had not yet reached the military life of the country. The military commanders of the garrisons, especially in border territories, began to wield an increasing amount of power, and even to usurp administrative duties. They affected to despise civilian authority. So powerful did these military commanders become that on the death of a general his son would take his post, refusing to recognize the successor sent from the capital; or the troops on the spot would elect one of their own number to the vacant post. The success of An Lu-shan's rebellion showed all how weak the central authority had become. The end of the dynasty was brought about by the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao, who attacked the capital itself. The Emperor summoned the Turks to his aid, and the "Black Crows", as they were called, owing to their black garments, led by their general, Li K'o-yung, defeated Huang Ch'ao. Li K'o-yung came into conflict with another general, Chu Wen. The Turkic general asked for Imperial permission to attack Chu Wen, and when this was refused he sacked the capital and the Emperor perished in attempting to escape. He was succeeded by his brother, and while the two generals fought it out the eunuchs seized and imprisoned the new Emperor and ruled in his name. He was rescued by Chu Wen, who slew the eunuchs, but the Emperor had only a temporary reprieve. He was eventually murdered by Chu Wen, who set up a minor in his place and then exterminated the rest of the Imperial family. Finally Chu Wen slew the boy Emperor and set himself up in his stead as Emperor of the Liang Dynasty.

The end of the T'ang Empire was as inglorious as its beginning was auspicious. Like other dynasties before it, it depended too much on the genius of one man, and with his going the whole structure slowly broke down. The southern Chinese to this day refer to themselves as "Sons of T'ang", in the same way as other Chinese call themselves "Sons of Han". Both dynasties were "Golden Ages" which illustrated dominant cultural characteristics of Chinese life and experience.

The period following the fall of the T'ang Dynasty is a tale of confusion. Chinese historians have attempted to

create order out of the chaos into which China fell, and divide the period into the "Later Five Dynasties" (907–960). The only justification for this is that families deposed one another in rapid succession and most of them founded their capitals at Kaifeng. But there was a series of sovereign states round the borders, each of which owed less than nominal allegiance to the short-lived imperial Houses.

Chu Wen, having slain the last of the T'ang Emperors, founded the Liang Dynasty (907–923), but he was, in his turn, murdered by his son, and the dynasty was overthrown by the son of the Turkish general Li K'o-yung, who had been Chu Wen's great rival when the T'ang Empire was crumbling. Li set himself up as Emperor of the Later T'ang Dynasty (923–936).

A new barbarian menace was now making itself felt. The Turks had been broken by T'ai Tsung, but the new danger to the Empire appeared in the Kitans, a tribe of Eastern Tartars, who later were to occupy a kingdom stretching from the sea to the Altai Mountains and covering territory as far south as Peking. The new dynasty was, for a time, successful in holding back the Kitan Tartars, but the Turkish Emperor was soon softened by Court life, and he was slain by the actors with whom he had surrounded himself. His place on the Imperial throne was taken by another general, who called in the Kitans to help him seize the throne. The price exacted for this by the Kitans was the surrender of sixteen districts in the north and heavy tribute. The dynasty, the Later Chin (936–947), lasted only for eleven years and came to an untimely end when the Emperor massacred all the Kitans in the territory under his control. This, not unnaturally, brought the Kitans down in a flood to pillage and loot. The Emperor had to submit and was exiled to Tartary.

Meanwhile, in 936 the Kitans had set themselves up as a dynasty in the north, with their capital at Liaoyang in the Liaotung Peninsula, under the title of the Liao ("Iron") Dynasty and had adopted a Chinese form of government.

In quick succession followed the Later Han (947–951) and the Later Chou (951–960) Dynasties. Both were founded by soldiers, and the second and last Emperor of the former

was slain by the first Emperor of the latter. Beyond that there is little that need be said.

In spite of the chaos and bloodshed, intellectual life of a sort still flourished. It is true that it was largely confined to scholars writing elegeant eulogies and brilliant poetry. One of these, Feng Tao, served seven ruling families in succession, and in the welter of bloodshed and intrigue managed to keep his head. This Chinese "Vicar of Bray" wrote a poem describing himself as "the ever-gay old man" and setting out with satisfaction the honours which he had acquired in his long and chequered career. One event in particular stands out in this period, and that is, if not the inventing, at least the popularizing of block printing, which largely came about through the efforts of "the ever-gay old man". Previously the Classics had been inscribed on stone in order to stabilize an authorized text and ink squeezes had been taken off. Feng Tao now suggested that wood blocks should be used instead of the stone slabs, and orders to this effect were given, and by 953 the whole of the nine Classics had been so printed.

The third and last Emperor of the Later Chou was a boy of seven. At the time of his succession a certain General Chao K'uang-yin was engaged in fighting the Tartars. One night the officers roused him, wrapped him in the yellow Imperial robe and proclaimed him Emperor, and the Sung Dynasty came into being.

The Sung Dynasty (960–1280)

If one were to generalize on the predominant characteristics of the Han, T'ang and Sung Dynasties, one might say that the Han combined geographical and cultural expansion, the T'ang geographical expansion with a definite renaissance of culture after the Dark Ages, and the Sung cultural expansion and geographical contraction. Under the Sung all the earlier cultural trends came to their fruition, a keen critical spirit asserted itself, and the arts flourished. Politically, however, the dynasty can only be called a failure. Dominated from the first by barbarians, it was ultimately overwhelmed by them.

Like his predecessor, the founder of the Han Dynasty, Chao K'uang-yin was a soldier who had been raised to the throne by his officers. Unlike the first Han Emperor, he did not then proceed to destroy them in order to get power into his own hands; he achieved the same end by different and less forcible means. He summoned them in council and proposed that they should resign their commands. To this they equally courteously agreed and they were liberally pensioned off. At the same time he managed to abolish the system of frontier governors which had been one of the causes of the downfall of the T'ang Dynasty, and he thus brought military command within the orbit of the central government.

Unfortunately, this military reform did not bring with it military success against the Kitans. War was conducted against them sporadically, but with increasing lack of success on the part of the Sungs and increasing aggressiveness on the part of the Kitans. The other northern tribes united with the Kitans, and in the reign of Jen Tsung (1023–1064) they demanded the cession of territory south of the Great Wall. Jen Tsung managed to bribe them off with the payment of heavy tribute and the mollifying gesture of recognizing the Liao Empress Dowager as his aunt, while the Liao Emperor regarded the Sung Emperor as his elder brother. The Kitans were not the only trouble that the new Empire had to confront. In the north-west the Tunguts had set themselves up as an independent kingdom. Their mouths, too, had to be stopped with gold, and these continuous demands from rapacious neighbours began to prove a serious drain on the Sung exchequer.

It was this financial crisis which led more than any other one thing to the experiments in State reform of Wang An-shih. His aim, in brief, was to increase revenue and cut down military expenditure without detracting from the efficiency of the army. In order to give his reforms the cloak of orthodoxy he stated that they were based on new and more correct interpretations of the Confucian Canon. To prove his point, this remarkable man issued new commentaries on the whole body of the Canon. On the financial side Wang An-shih drew up a budget which was not to be exceeded in any

circumstances. His scheme did, in fact, effect great economies in State expenditure. In order to increase revenue without increasing taxation he produced a scheme providing for State control of agriculture and industry. From the produce of each district sufficient was set aside to cover the needs of taxation and local consumption, and the rest was taken over by the State at a low fixed rate and was either held for a rise or transported to a district suffering from a deficit. This ensured a certain, if small, profit for the producer and a profit for the State as middleman, and does not seem to us, in these days of Marketing Boards, as particularly revolutionary, though it antedates them by some nine hundred years. But it was so revolutionary a move in Sung times that it provoked the most vigorous hostility among Wang An-shih's contemporaries.

Compulsory loans were also made to farmers in order that they should be able to increase the productivity of their land. These were granted in the spring and were repayable with interest in the autumn, the interest being raised from the cultivation of the village communal land. Statute labour, which had proved vexatious and tiresome, as it might drag the farmer away from his land at the busiest time, was abolished, and a money payment was substituted which went into a central fund from which those employed on public works were remunerated.

Wang An-shih also instituted a regular land survey system with the idea of the eventual reform of taxation on the new basis, but this scheme proved, for various reasons, unworkable, though the principle survived. He also made a census of all the property of landowners. As an inducement to ensure correct returns, anyone who could detect a fault in the calculations of the landowner was entitled to a proportion of the fine inflicted. This, not unnaturally, led to the growth of a flourishing body of professional informers.

On the military side he instituted sweeping reforms. As happened during the troubled times after the foundation of the Republic, the army had grown fantastically large and its size was out of all proportion to its efficiency. Wang An-shih disbanded all troops not actually engaged on frontier

defence and formed them into a territorial force. To keep this force supplied each family with two males was bound to put one at the disposal of the State for the militia, and in order to keep up the breed of cavalry horses each family was bound to maintain one, which was supplied, together with its fodder, by the Government.

His reforms also extended into the literary field. He attempted to reform the Examination System (which considered that a knowledge of the Classics alone was a reasonable qualification for becoming a civil servant) by adding practical subjects to the curriculum.

To the Western eye of to-day these reforms might not appear either undesirable or revolutionary, but they raised a storm of protest in XIth-century China. Wang An-shih had against him the full force of the Confucian School, who, though they were busy quarrelling amongst themselves, at once formed a united front against the innovator, who was not only introducing such revolutionary reforms into the practical field but who had also attacked the established Examination System founded on the Classics and had even gone so far as to remove the *Tso Chuan* from the curriculum. Apart from the opposition of the Confucianists, there were other reasons for the failure of the reforms. The times were too troubled for them to take effect quickly, and quick success was the only thing which could have preserved them. The military reforms had little effect on the campaigns against the Kitans, while their machinery laid them open to abuse by unscrupulous officials. The death of Wang An-shih's patron, Shen Tsung (1068–1086), led to the collapse of his measures, and the Reformer himself was exiled to a provincial post. None the less, most of Wang's reforms were adopted at one time or another, though their author lived long enough to see, in bitterness, the failure of them all.

Meanwhile, in the north another power was growing which was soon to menace the Sung Empire. Another branch of the Tartars, the Nuchen Tartars, had formerly been subservient to the Kitans, but under their ruler Akuta they threw off the yoke of the Liao Dynasty and set themselves up as the Kin ("Golden") Dynasty. The Emperor Hui Tsung made

an alliance with the Kin Tartars in 1111 in order to drive out the Kitans from the north and recover the territory for the Sungs. The Kitans were defeated, but the Kins took the territory for themselves. The Emperor then, perhaps ill-advisedly, sought the aid of the defeated Kitans to drive out the Kins; but unfortunately the Kitans were again defeated, and the Kins turned on the Sung Emperor and advanced on his capital at K'ai-feng. The Emperor fled south to Nanking and abdicated in favour of his son. The Kins ravaged the country and then retired, but they returned again that winter (1126), besieged K'ai-feng, to which city Hui Tsung and the new Emperor had returned, and carried them both, together with most of the royal household, off into a captivity from which they never returned.

Another son of Hui Tsung succeeded, and, driven south by the Kin Tartars, set up his capital at Hangchow. The defeated Liao moved west and settled down in Kashgaria, where they set up the Kingdom of Karakitai. China was now divided, with the Empire north of the Yangtze ruled by the Kin Tartars and the Sung Empire maintaining itself south of the river.

In contrast to Wang An-shih, the Reformer, stands Chu Hsi (1130–1200), the Confucian scholar. Though Chu Hsi was not a contemporary of Wang An-shih's, living as he did during the Southern Sung period, he was a steadfast opponent of the disciples of the Reformer's school.

Chu Hsi was, if not the founder, at least the greatest exponent of the Neo-Confucian School. Confucianism was no longer the pure philosophy it had been under the Chou or when it was resuscitated under the Han. In the course of time it had been influenced by an admixture of Taoist and Buddhist thought, the great link between Taoism and Neo-Confucianism being the *Book of Changes*, into the interpretation of which many Taoist ideas had penetrated. The following of Taoism was no bar to a respect for, or even an adherence to, Confucian doctrines. The Emperor Chen Tsung, at the start of the dynasty, was an ardent Taoist, but this did not prevent him from making a pilgrimage to the tomb of Confucius and raising him posthumously to the rank of Duke. Similarly, Chan Buddhism, the School of Meditation, which

held that truth could only be attained by quiet and aloof mental concentrations, was not far removed from the ideas of the Taoist hermits who, in remote caves, meditated in solitude. This doctrine also contributed something to Sung Neo-Confucianism.

Chu Hsi is generally remembered only as the supreme commentator and reviser of the Confucian Classics, but naturally his commentaries and revisions profoundly affected the interpretation of the Confucian doctrine. Briefly, it can be said that the vague personal God which had been, as it were, in the background of Confucius' teaching (though he never taught His existence) was changed by Chu Hsi's interpretations into an idea of Abstract Right. Chu Hsi held that man consisted of two principles: his spirit, which was naturally good, and the substance which clothed the spirit and which varied in quality from individual to individual. It was the duty of mankind to suppress all that which came from the substance, which was impure, in order to leave the spirit untrammelled. This gave rise to the asceticism of the Neo-Confucianists. Chu Hsi's doctrine was a type of high-principled materialism, rejecting the supernatural and all "outside influences", concentrating on man's nature, the suppression of the evil in it and the furtherance of his good relations with other members of mankind.

Chu Hsi re-edited the Classics with an eye to consistency. He refused to understand the same word in two different contexts in a different manner, and this comparatively simple experiment worked wonders with the text. His commentaries were naturally coloured by his ideas, but they and his revised text have remained the standard interpretation of the Confucian doctrine up to the present day. Further research was undertaken under the Ch'ing Empire, and of course in recent years much intensive study, both in Europe and the Far East, has been given to the original texts and the many commentaries on them. These studies and researches have, to some extent, changed the received interpretation of the Canon. Legge's translation of the Classics (which has been followed in quotations in this work) is based on the interpretations of Chu Hsi.

Chu Hsi's reforms aroused considerable opposition and he was frequently attacked. He died under persistent and hostile persecution, and it was not until some years after his death that he was honoured with a posthumous title and his tablet was placed in the Confucian temple. It is related that after his death his coffin rose from the ground and remained suspended in mid-air. His son-in-law fell on his knees and reminded the departed spirit of the great principles of materialism and rejection of the supernatural which Chu Hsi had so ably expounded all his life—and the coffin descended gently to the ground.

Not only in the realm of philosophy was research undertaken in this period. Ssu-ma Kuang produced his great history of the Chinese Empire. Catalogues of bronzes and sculptures were prepared. Painting has been mentioned above (e.g. Chapter I), but the achievements of the rather severe Northern and of the more impressionistic Southern School remain to show us the finer attainments of the dynasty.

Meanwhile, in the political field, things were going from bad to worse. A certain harmony had at last been achieved between the Southern Sung and their Kin neighbours, but now a new enemy appeared in the form of the Mongols, who pressed down on the Kin from the north.

The Mongols came originally from the area to the south-east of Lake Baikal. Under Jenghiz Khan (1162–1227) the Mongol armies swept over Asia, spreading death and destruction from North China as far as Russia, reaching out to Asia Minor and the Indus. Jenghiz Khan had first conquered the Tartars, was made Grand Khan, and fixed his capital in Karakoram. On his death his Empire was divided between his four sons. Ogotai and Tuli became the Eastern Khans and began the conquest of China.

The Kin had already been severely shaken by the attacks of Jenghiz Khan. With the advance of Chinese culture in their Empire, unaccustomed comfort and luxury betrayed their rulers, who became increasingly incompetent. There were internal quarrels, and some of the Kin leaders threw in their lot with the Tartars. The capital was conquered, and the last Kin Emperor died fighting in 1233.

The Sung Emperor did not let slip this opportunity of regaining his lost territory north of the Yangtze. While the Kin were engaged in combating the Mongols the Sung armies advanced and reoccupied K'ai-feng and Lo-yang. In fact, at the time of the last Kin Emperor's death he was fighting both the Mongols and the Chinese, and some of his captured generals were taken to the Sung capital at Hang-chow. This Sung triumph was short-lived, and soon the Chinese forces were retreating before the Mongol armies under Ogotai. The Khan did not lay waste this newly acquired territory as his father had done in the west, but, acting under wise counsel, administered the country in a more peaceful fashion. As a result, a number of Chinese scholars who had been serving under the Kin quietly transferred their allegiance to the new rulers and obtained official posts.

Ogotai died in 1241, and his son died soon after. It was left to Ogotai's two grandsons, Mangu and Kublai, to undertake the conquest of the remainder of China. Mangu died in Ssuchuan in 1259, and it was Kublai who finally destroyed the Sung Empire.

In 1260 Kublai established his capital at Xanadu, some two hundred miles to the north of Peking, and four years later moved it to Peking itself, known then as Khan Bhalig, "The City of the Khan" (Marco Polo's "Canbaluc"). In 1268 he started his campaign against the Sung. His intentions were fortified by the murder of the envoys he had sent to the Sung Court. The boy Emperor was captured and sent into exile, but his two brothers were saved and carried south to safety in Wenchow. The elder was there raised to the Imperial throne as Tuan Tsung (1276–1278). The Sung forces were driven farther south, and in 1278 Canton was captured and the Emperor died of exposure after a shipwreck. His younger brother succeeded him as Ti Ping (1278–1280), but was blockaded in an inland harbour with the remnants of his fleet. The Chinese resisted for some time, but when defeat appeared inevitable the Sung commander first drove his wife and family overboard and then followed them with the boy Emperor on his back. Thus perished the Sung Dynasty.

Yuan Dynasty (1280–1368)

In spite of his savage background, Kublai Khan became a most enlightened ruler. Though an ardent Buddhist, he took care to pay proper respect to Confucianism and was tolerant of all religions, with the exception of Taoism. He ordered all the Taoist works which dealt with that portion of the faith which had degenerated into magic and witchcraft to be destroyed. The *Tao Te Ching* (*Classic of Reason and Virtue*) escaped the ban, which was not, in any case, completely effective, as the introduction of paper books meant that their concealment was easier than had been the case with the old bamboo tablets.

In the field of public works Kublai Khan completed the Grand Canal and opened the Imperial Academy. He also sent an expedition to explore the upper reaches of the Yellow River in order to devise means to control the periodic flooding with its damage to life and property. On the agrarian side, owing to the decrease in population as a result of the wars of the previous centuries, there were larger holdings of land per head, but this benefit was largely offset by heavier taxation.

Once again, territorially, the Empire had expanded. Kublai was Emperor of China and Great Khan of the Mongols. Korea and Burma became vassal states of the Emperor. His only failures were the two expeditions which he sent against Japan, both of which were repulsed with heavy losses.

The later Yuan rulers were in marked contrast to the great founder of the dynasty. In the quiet atmosphere of Chinese culture with which they surrounded themselves they quickly lost the fire and aggressiveness which had enabled their ancestors to sweep across Asia to the Caspian and beyond. A series of weak rulers succeeded one another after Kublai's death in 1294 till Shun Ti (1333–1368) ascended the throne. He surpassed even his predecessors in ineptitude, allowing an unscrupulous Mongol prime minister to run the Empire, with the result that when the minister was finally removed rebellion had broken out in several places. These rebellions were partly inspired by hatred for the alien rulers and partly

by the intolerable burden of taxation, which, all through history, has been one of the more certain ways of ensuring revolt in China. The coast was harried by a pirate chieftain named Fang Kuo-chen, and, inland, various rebels came to power until, in 1335, Chu Yuan-chang came to the fore with his capture of Nanking. Chu had become a Buddhist monk in his youth after the death of all his family from plague. Some years after he changed his vocation and joined one of the rebel bands, which he himself led on the death of the rebel leader. He managed to amalgamate many of the factions opposed to the Mongols, and after his capture of Nanking induced Fang Kuo-chen to place his navy at his disposal. In 1363 Chu fought and defeated his greatest rebel rival, and in 1367 he assumed the Imperial title of Hung Wu. He marched on the capital, and the Mongol Emperor and his weak and disrupted forces melted into the night, leaving the new Emperor master of China and founder of the last purely Chinese dynasty.

Under the Yuan Dynasty occurred an important contact with the West. Marco Polo, a Venetian, arrived at the Court of Kublai Khan in 1271 and was accorded Imperial favour. He lived in China for seventeen years and travelled widely over the Empire. On his return to Venice he wrote the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, which was the first account Europe had received at first hand of a country which had previously been regarded as a region of myth, a mere traveller's tale. Some missionaries also managed to reach China. John of Monte Corvino reached Peking just before the death of Kublai Khan and was later joined by three companions. These missionaries, as well as some others who survived the long journey, had a certain success among the Mongols, though their presence was resented greatly by the Nestorian Christians; but with the fall of the dynasty all trace of Christianity disappeared.

The Ming Dynasty (1368–1644)

The Ming Dynasty well deserved its name, which means "Illustrious". Under it art and culture flourished, though

perhaps these did not show the virility of its predecessors, the T'ang and the Sung. The expansion of the Empire achieved by the Mongols was also largely maintained, and even other lands accepted the suzerainty of the Emperor.

Hung Wu, or T'ai Tsung (1368–1399), spent the major part of his reign fighting against the Mongols, who did not lightly give up their hold on China, and in quelling revolts within his own borders. Rebellions in Yunnan and by the Burmese were crushed and raids on the coast by the Japanese were repelled and the pirate fleet pursued homeward, many of its ships being captured. In spite of his preoccupation with the preservation of his newly-won Empire intact, T'ai Tsung also reformed and simplified the penal code and established schools throughout the Empire. On his death he was succeeded by his grandson, but the latter was too young to resist the intrigues of his uncles, and one of these, Prince Yen, rose in revolt, defeated the Imperial army, took the capital and butchered a large number of his royal relatives. The young Emperor escaped, disguised as a monk, and was only discovered some thirty years later.

The new Emperor, Ch'eng Tsu, better known under his reign-name of Yung Lo (1403–1425), proved an able and enlightened ruler. Under his patronage the great encyclopedia, the *Yung Lo Ta-Tien*, was produced (only to perish in the flames of the Boxer Rebellion). In 1421 he moved the capital to Peking and greatly enlarged and redesigned the city of Kublai Khan. Peking to-day is essentially the same city as it was in the days of Yung Lo. A practical tribute to his designing, as any Peking resident will confirm, is the fact that the city drainage, virtually the same as it was in the days of the Ming, is capable of draining the streets of Peking, flooded to the depth of several feet by a tropical storm, in the space of an hour.

Territorially, Yung Lo expanded the Empire. Annam was conquered, and though it regained its independence under the next Emperor, it continued to acknowledge China as its overlord. He sent embassies to Java, Siam and Sumatra, and an expedition sent by him reached Ceylon and carried the ruler and his family back to China. Chinese ships reached

Aden in 1422 and 1431, but this was the end of Chinese naval ambition, which end coincides with the beginning of Western naval ambitions towards the Orient.

The next Emperor, Hsuan Tsung (1426–1436), is famous principally for the high standard which Chinese porcelain and lacquer reached during his reign. After a troubled period, including a disastrous expedition against the Mongols and a certain amount of strife between brother Emperors, Hsiao Tsung (1488–1506) mounted the throne, and with him the Ming Empire reached the zenith of its glory. There was peace throughout the Empire and the arts flourished. This dynasty is not, however, outstanding for the originality of thought among its scholars. The historians had just completed an exhaustive description of the Ming Empire in ninety volumes, but this was remarkable more for its size than its content. In fact, the whole dynasty was noted more for the quantity rather than for the quality of its literature. The exception was Wang Yang-ming, who flourished under Hsiao Tsung and produced another new interpretation of the Confucian doctrine. This was regarded as heterodox in his time, but provided the seeds which were to grow and influence the liberal thinkers at the end of the next century, like K'ang Yu-wei, who, in his proposed reforms submitted to the Emperor, suggested a modified form of Confucianism as State religion.

Risings and rebellions characterize the reigns of Wu Tsung (1506–1522) and Shih Tsung (1522–1567). The former suffered from that curse of Chinese rulers, a too-ambitious eunuch. Ultimately the eunuch was overthrown and his vast treasure secured for the State.

Shih Tsung faced internal insurrections and external aggressions from the Mongols.

Under the next Emperor, Wan Li (1573–1620), the future rulers of China first make their appearance. Nurhachu, ruler of the Nu-chih or Nuchen Tartars of Manchuria, began his career of aggression and conquest in revenge for the murder of his father and grandfather by the Ming rulers. A further trouble for the dynasty was a war with Japan over Korea. In 1592 the Japanese, under Hideyoshi, over-ran

Korea and invaded China. They were ultimately driven back, but the war was resumed with great fury and only ended with the death of Hideyoshi in 1598, when a peace treaty was made. Korea regained its independence, but nominally recognized the suzerainty of China. In one battle of the war, 38,700 Chinese and Koreans were killed, and the Japanese, with the "chivalry" which distinguished them even then, sent the ears and noses of the slain to Kyoto, where a mound was raised over them called the Mimizuka ("Ear Mound").

By 1619 Nurhachu had conquered Manchuria and invaded the Liao-tung peninsula. In 1627 his son and successor, T'ai Tsung, conquered Korea, but was repulsed by the Chinese, who used cannon cast for them by the Jesuits. Rebellions, however, were breaking out in the provinces, and the central authorities were unable to suppress them; and in the end it was a revolt in China itself which overturned the last Chinese dynasty and set the Tartars on the Imperial throne once again.

In 1630 rebellion broke out in Honan and Shensi, and the last Ming Emperor, Chuang Lieh (1628–1644), was unable to suppress it. After fourteen years the principal rebel, Li Tzu-ch'eng, felt himself strong enough to proclaim himself Emperor. He marched on Peking and a traitor general opened the city gates to him. The Emperor, feeling himself lost, ascended Coal Hill, which stands just outside the north wall of the Forbidden City, and, having written a last pathetic message on the hem of his robe in his own blood, hanged himself alongside his faithful eunuch, who remained with him to the end.

A Chinese general, Wu San-kuei, was hastening to the aid of his Emperor when he heard of his death. After some hesitation he retraced his steps to Shan-hai-kuan, and there wrote to the Manchus asking for their help in suppressing the rebel Li. The Manchus arrived in force and defeated Li, who fled to Peking, where, after the usual massacre of royalty, he collected his booty and fled to the west. He was heavily defeated eight times, and at last perished miserably along with his few remaining companions, hacked to death by the hoes of the farmers he had oppressed.

Under the Ming Emperors Europeans first came in large numbers to China. These visitors can be divided into two classes, those who came for commerce and those who sought converts; merchants and missionaries. In 1579 Pasio and Ruggiero arrived in China and founded their first missionary station in Canton, and four years later Matteo Ricci landed, reaching Peking in 1601. He pleased the Emperor, and by his knowledge of the sciences gained merit in the eyes of the Court and the confidence of high officials, some of whom were converted to Christianity. He obtained permission for missionaries to settle in important centres and paved the way for the succession of able Jesuit scholars who came later to the capital. As has been seen, these Jesuits, apart from the work they did in the spiritual field and in the teaching of mathematics, astronomy and geography, also gave them the doubtful privilege of their experience in casting cannon and using gunpowder for other purposes than the manufacture of decorative fireworks.

The Portuguese were first in the field of commerce. In 1516 Rafael Perestrello, a relative of Columbus, reached China in a native ship on a prospecting expedition. The next year Fernao Perez de Andrade reached China and was allowed to proceed to Canton, whither he was accompanied by Thomé Pires, who had been commissioned by the Governor of Goa as envoy to the Emperor. Unfortunately, Andrade's brother, Simon, who had also come to China with another expedition, so infuriated the Chinese by his arbitrary conduct that both he and his brother were driven away and Pires was thrown into prison, where he died in 1523.

Trading posts were, however, established on the coast of Fukien at Foochow and Ningpo. The latter post, however, grew so prosperous and the traders bore themselves so insolently and lived so licentiously that the pacific Emperor Shih Tsung ordered their massacre. In 1557 the Portuguese secured permission to set up a trading post at Macao, which post they kept open by intensive bribery of local officials.

The Spaniards were also in this commercial race, but their trade was done from the Philippines in Chinese bottoms, and so they cannot be said to have been in direct touch with

China proper. They cannot have endeared themselves to the Chinese by their general massacre of nearly all Chinese inhabitants of the islands in 1603, and again by slaying two-thirds of them in 1639!

The Dutch were next in the field, but all their efforts to get trading rights were foiled by the Portuguese, already snugly ensconced in Macao. In 1624 they occupied towns in Formosa and built blockhouses there, and were only evicted in 1661. A further Dutch attempt to open trade with Canton in 1653 was again blocked by the Portuguese, and a mission sent to Peking in 1655 was equally unsuccessful, though it conformed with all the ceremonials expected by the Chinese Emperor from a vassal state.

The first attempt by the British to trade direct with China was in 1637, when Captain John Weddell arrived at Macao. He also suffered obstruction from the Portuguese, and when he attempted to go on to Canton was fired on by Chinese batteries. Weddell silenced the batteries and proceeded to Canton, where he disposed of his cargo, loaded his ship with sugar and ginger, and sailed away.

The Russians also were not behind in the field, though their interests seem to have been more political than commercial. They sent, in all, three embassies to Peking, all of which were refused an audience, as they brought no presents and the members would not follow the normal ceremonial. They did, however, sign the first treaty in which the Chinese Empire was ever concerned (in 1689), but this is outside the scope of this chapter.

With the end of the Ming Empire the history of China comes to an end. From that period onwards it is impossible to deal with China, and China alone, as has hitherto been the case, as her history is now closely bound up with that of other nations, and for the first time international relations must take first place over internal development, until we come to the reconstruction of China under the Republic, when the two go hand in hand. The tale of the next dynasty is a melancholy one of declining Chinese power and growing Western aggression, but it must not be forgotten that, though the Empire fell into chaos and the Republic was born and

passed its early years in blood, the pillars of Chinese civilization remained as firm as they did in the Dark Ages, when the whole land was torn by revolt and civil war. With the re-establishment of a central government the solidarity of Chinese life was once again demonstrated as securely based as it was in the great days of Han and T'ang.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPACT OF THE WEST

THE Ch'ing Dynasty falls naturally into two parts: the first portion up to the abdication of Ch'ien Lung in 1796, and the second until the proclamation of the Republic in 1911. In the first period the Empire was strong and remained virtually closed to the West, while in the second the Empire gradually declined and the influence of the Western Powers increased proportionately. This second period can also be divided into three, and one cannot do better than use the titles given to these periods by Morse in his *International Relations of the Chinese Empire:* The Period of Conflict, 1834–1860; The Period of Submission, 1860–1893; and the Period of Subjection, 1893–1911. The first period covers the clash between the traditional isolationism of China and the expansionist policy of the West; the second the influence of action; while in the third the Empire was powerless and at the mercy of the demands of the West.

Though the new dynasty was proclaimed in 1644 and the Emperor, Shun Chih, a boy of six, was placed on the throne, the whole country was by no means under Manchu rule. In the south a Ming Emperor was proclaimed, and Yangchou, on the Yangtze, was burned to the ground and its inhabitants massacred in the campaign, which ended with the capture of Nanking and the execution of the Ming pretender. Farther south Canton was captured in 1650, while the pirate leader Koxinga set up a short-lived dynasty in Formosa.

Shun Chih was succeeded by his second son, K'ang Hsi (1662–1723), and his reign and that of his son, Ch'ien Lung, form together the brightest part of the dynasty's history. Under K'ang Hsi the Empire was extended once again to cover Turkestan and Tibet, which were placed under Imperial protection. His son made Nepal and Burma pay tribute to the Empire, and a campaign in Cochin China confirmed Chinese overlordship there; while a later expedition ended

rebellion in Formosa. The Empire was once again restored to its full power and prosperity.

At the Court of K'ang Hsi foreign missionaries had already gained a foothold. The Jesuits had been at the Imperial Court under Shun Chih, but had been imprisoned by the regents who ruled the Empire during Kang Hsi's minority. A Jesuit priest named Verbiest was employed by Kang Hsi to revise the calendar, and he showed so much greater learning than the Chinese astronomers that they were dismissed and Verbiest was employed in their stead. Verbiest secured from the Emperor a decree of toleration for Christianity, not only for the Jesuits but also for the Dominicans and Franciscans, and they were allowed to settle in various parts of the country. Christianity was in a fair way to becoming a power in the land when an unfortunate controversy led to disaster. The Jesuits used the word *T'ien* or "Heaven" for God and sanctioned reverence for ancestors, an integral part of Confucianism. The Dominicans and Franciscans were opposed to both these ideas. K'ang Hsi sided with the Jesuits and the matter was referred to Rome. After many years of debate the Pope decided against the Jesuits. K'ang Hsi was irritated by this interference, in what he considered to be his sphere, on the part of a distant and unknown potentate and ordered the withdrawal of all missionaries save those specially selected by himself. The Jesuits made their mark on the Empire, for not only were they employed to reform the calendar but also to prepare a map of the Empire. The Jesuit observatory can be seen to this day as one of the buildings forming the city wall of Peking.

During the reign of K'ang Hsi's son, Yung Cheng (1722–1736), Christianity fell into even deeper disfavour; it was proscribed and many Christian altars were destroyed. Once again all missionaries save those in Government employ were ordered to leave the country.

The reigns of K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung not only saw the territorial expansion of China but also another artistic and literary revival. The porcelain and painting of this period are well known, as is the great dictionary of Chinese characters prepared under the orders of K'ang Hsi and the encyclo-

paedia, the *Tu Shu Chi Ch'eng*, which were some of the earliest works to be printed in China with movable type.

In the reign of Ch'ien Lung the first mission sent by the British Government to China arrived at the Imperial Court. Lord Macartney reached Taku, at the mouth of the river near Tientsin, in August, 1793. His reception was cordial and in marked contrast to that given to earlier Portuguese and Dutch missions which had been sent for purely commercial reasons. But this mission foundered on the rock on which several successive attempts were also to be wrecked—namely the *kowtow*. The whole history of the period of conflict is based on the complete inability of the Chinese Empire and the Western Powers to understand the other's point of view. Relations with other Powers on terms of equality was a conception entirely foreign to the Chinese. There was no Chinese Foreign Office, and the only intercourse the Empire had ever had officially with foreign countries was on terms of master and vassal, i.e. missions bearing tribute from tributary nations to the Emperor. Thus, though Lord Macartney was greeted courteously and the transport provided to take the mission and its cases of gifts to the capital perfectly suitable, yet Chinese officialdom was not prepared to abate one jot of the ceremony which it felt a tribute-bearing mission should perform. The boat in which Lord Macartney travelled bore a banner inscribed "Ambassador bearing tribute from the country of England", and when he reached the capital the question of the *kowtow* arose. After endless wrangles, suggestions and counter-suggestions a compromise was reached by the Ambassador bending on one knee, the mark of respect he showed to his own sovereign. This was the only tangible result of the mission. Not one matter was settled. Macartney had two main objects: one, to secure a relaxation in the conditions of trade at Canton—of which more anon—and the second, the opening of other ports to trade. Neither of these points was gained by the mission, nor indeed by any subsequent representations. They were only finally achieved by war. Indeed the course of the mission has been summed up correctly by one authority as "the ambassador was received with the utmost politeness, treated with the utmost hospitality,

watched with the utmost vigilance and dismissed with the utmost civility".

The second mission—in 1816, under Lord Amherst—had even shorter shrift. The whole journey to Peking was occupied with a constant wrangle over the *kowtow*, and when the Ambassador arrived at Court he was at once hustled, even with physical force, towards an immediate audience. Lord Amherst pleaded his extreme fatigue, his lack of suitable apparel and the absence of his credentials. It was subsequently learned that the Emperor had been assured that the proper ceremonial would be observed, and the Chinese officials hoped that they might rush Lord Amherst into agreeing, through the speed of their actions and his own bodily fatigue. As it was, he returned to Canton without having kowtowed and equally without an audience.

The history of foreign trading in Canton followed a similarly uneasy course. The Chinese were willing to trade with the West—but only on their own terms. They regarded foreigners as barbarians, had no particular desire to trade, though they were willing to do so, and insisted that the foreign traders should have as little intercourse with China as possible. The early history of trade at Canton, is in effect, the history of the East India Company, which had the monopoly of British trade in the Far East and through whose hands the majority of the goods passed. Trade was restricted by Imperial Edict to the port of Canton, and the goods were transhipped at Macao and Lintin downriver and carried in small boats to the factories outside the walls of the city. Foreigners were not only restricted in their place of residence but also in the conditions of business. The Co-Hong enjoyed a complete monopoly over both trade and relations with foreigners on the Chinese side. They were responsible for the renting of the factories, the collecting of dues levied on foreign shops and trade, and also even for the collection of the debts of foreigners. All communications from foreigners had to be directed through the Co-Hong in the form of petitions, Chinese officials considering matters of foreign trade beneath their dignity. All these restrictions were, not unnaturally, irksome to traders from the West, who regarded them as not

consonant with their national dignity, while the Chinese, for their part, looked on foreigners as barbarians whose methods and ways of life were as strange as they were distasteful.

Legal concepts between China and the European Powers were different, but the difference was not greater than between different systems in the Occident, namely the Roman Law system as compared with the Anglo-Saxon system of law. It was asserted that Chinese law made no distinction between murder and manslaughter. This is based on a misconception, because the Chinese judge was given the power to consider the circumstances of the particular case, and the punishment inflicted naturally varied with the gravity of the offence. Moreover, the sentences were subject to review by the highest authorities of the realm, so as to ensure full justice. The *Ta Tsing Lu Li*, i.e. the Criminal Code of the Manchu Dynasty, impressed foreign jurists of the time very favourably, including Sir George Staunton, who made a full translation of it.

It has often been asserted that the Chinese attitude of isolation during this period was due entirely to Chinese unreasoning ignorance of the outside world. This is, however, only partly true, and in any case such ignorance was balanced, on the other side, by an equally profound ignorance of Chinese ways of thought and ceremonial. Chinese insistence on isolation was as much caused by fear of the natural consequences of throwing open her country to foreign trade. She had seen neighbouring territories, first opened up to trade with men from the West, then penetrated steadily by increasing numbers of white men, and finally annexed, with or without a war. There was some substance in the charges of "arrogance" levelled at, for example, Ch'ien Lung, but who shall say that arrogance was altogether missing from the other side?

Throughout her long history China had learned that contact between herself and alien peoples meant only "conquer or be conquered". Her attitude of suspicion when foreign emissaries presented gifts but would not comply with the invariable Court ceremonial was, in those days at least, nothing more than might have been expected.

The British Government, in an effort to improve conditions

of trade at Canton, refused to renew the charter of the East India Company in 1834, and opened Canton to free trade as far as British ships were concerned. They also passed legislation appointing three superintendents of trade in the Far East, with criminal jurisdiction over British subjects, with the object of protecting British nationals and promoting and improving trade. The first superintendent was Lord Napier, who came of a distinguished family but had little knowledge or experience of the East in general, and China in particular. He was instructed to open negotiations with the Chinese authorities direct, which instructions effectively prevented any results coming from his labours. His letters to officials were returned unopened, or he was informed through the Co-Hong that he might submit a petition in the usual form. He died the same year in which he arrived, 1834. After this first failure the British Government did nothing more for three years. Trade, despite the hampering conditions, continued to flourish, but in 1836 the office of Chief Superintendent was abolished and Captain Elliot, then second superintendent, was instructed to secure official recognition from the Chinese Government and was appointed Chief of the Commission.

Captain Elliot proceeded more diplomatically than his predecessor and secured a little more success. He received permission to reside in Canton during the trading season, but failed to get himself recognized as a British official. It was at this point that the question of opium became acute.

It has frequently been stated that the Opium War was fought in order to force opium upon unwilling Chinese: it has equally been stated that it was a righteous war forced on the British by the arrogant cruelty and bad faith of the Chinese. Both views are equally false. The question of opium was merely the spark that lit the fire. The English lack of comprehension of the Chinese attitude and the failure of the Chinese Government to understand the point of view of foreign Powers made ultimate conflict inevitable. It was the clash between the traditional isolation of China and the expansion of the West. Something had to break, and in this case it was the isolationist Great Wall of China.

Opium had long been an article of commerce. Up to 1796 it had been regularly imported into China from India as ordinary merchandise, and was subject to duty. In that year, however, a decree was issued forbidding its importation, but the demand for it continued; and so it was smuggled into the country. This trade then reached enormous dimensions. The procedure was for the ship to bring the opium to the mouth of the river, where it was transferred from the chests into rolls of matting and taken ashore in small boats. The customs officials, having had their palms suitably greased, turned a blind eye. The ship then proceeded up-river to discharge its legal cargo. It is only fair to say that many of the members of the Co-Hong and many reputable British and American firms had no hand in the trade. But the large profits were a great temptation, especially as the transaction was comparatively easy on the European side, as the Chinese purchaser made all the arrangements for taking it ashore and bribing the necessary officials.

In 1836 the Imperial Government decided that the smuggling must stop, giving as grounds the deleterious effect that opium-smoking was having on the physique of the nation. The effect of the trade on the nation's health was decidedly bad, but the effect on Chinese finance was worse. All other trade was conducted on a strict barter system; but as the opium trade was illegal, the price had to be paid in cash, with the result that silver was draining out of the country at an alarming rate. Commissioner Lin, an upright and distinguished official, was sent to Canton with orders to stop the traffic. At once difficulties arose. Lin demanded the expulsion from Canton of all merchants who had engaged in the opium trade, and also that the rest should sign a bond stating that they would abstain from participation in the traffic on pain of death. Elliot replied that he was perfectly willing to co-operate in stamping out the trade, but he had no power to make British nationals sign such a bond, and, anyway, he had no control over foreign nationals. Nevertheless he collected a large quantity of opium, which he handed over to Lin on condition that the latter would lift the blockade he had placed on Canton, allow foreigners to leave, and give

an assurance that the Chinese authorities would reimburse him for the opium he had purchased and handed over. Thus Commissioner Lin had succeeded in destroying all the opium in Canton, but no attempt was made to stop the smuggling, with the result that it continued as before—only now the price of opium was considerably higher owing to scarcity value.

Lin was not content with driving the English out of Canton, but also compelled the Portuguese to expel them from Macao. Fruitless negotiations went on between Elliot and Lin, with a view to securing the return of British traders to Canton and Macao. Ultimately the British staged a naval demonstration; they blockaded the West River and sent a special dispatch to the Emperor stating their demands. This resulted in the appointment of a Special Commissioner with powers to negotiate. Before negotiations produced any result, war broke out between China and England. After two operations on the Chinese mainland in the south and up the Yangtze, the Chinese asked for an armistice, and the Treaty of Nanking was signed in 1842. Under this Hong Kong was ceded outright to the British and the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai were opened to trade. Peace and equality of intercourse were established between China and Great Britain. Thus the British achieved their two immediate objects; improvements in trading conditions, and incidentally the abolition of the Co-Hong, and equal political rights for Chinese and Europeans. Under the treaty also the juridical rights of consuls over their own nationals were tacitly assumed. The treaty made no mention of opium, however, and the smuggling continued as before.

It is possible that, given the right conditions, the Opium War might have been the first and last conflict between China and the West. But unfortunately these conditions did not exist. One defeat did not change the Chinese attitude of mind towards the West, and one victory did not improve the West's understanding of China. Chinese officialdom took the view that, as the treaty had been signed under duress, it was not binding; procrastinated and quibbled endlessly over details in it. On the other side, the merchants considered

that the treaty exempted them from Chinese law, and that they were not subject to the jurisdiction of their own governments, and flagrantly flouted the law and all common decency in their efforts to promote trade and enrich themselves, stooping to smuggling, bribery and corruption. With such conditions a further clash was inevitable, and the incident which precipitated the next stage of the struggle was the seizure by the Chinese of the lorcha *Arrow* in 1856. Its return was immediately demanded by the British Consul, but the Chinese maintained that the boat was Chinese and had not been flying the British flag. After a year of fruitless negotiation, a joint Anglo-French expedition was prepared, under the command of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, with the object of enforcing the clauses of the Treaty of Nanking, and of obtaining more concessions, such as the right of a British envoy to visit or reside in Peking and communicate with Chinese Government officials there. In 1857 and 1858 the combined fleets took Canton and all the coastal ports and advanced to Tientsin and captured the Taku forts. The Chinese sued for peace, and the Treaty of Tientsin was signed by Russia, the United States, Great Britain and France in the same year. The treaty was, however, not ratified and the plenipotentiaries, when on their way to the capital to ratify it, were seized and carried off as prisoners to Peking. The next year, after substantial reinforcements had arrived, the Taku forts were recaptured and allied forces entered Peking. The Summer Palace was looted and burnt and the Emperor fled to Jehol. It is difficult to excuse or condone this piece of vandalism; it remains as a blot on the history of Chinese-foreign relations.

The result of the new treaty was to open eleven more ports to foreign trade, and in addition the town of Kowloon, on the mainland opposite Hong Kong, was ceded to the British; the Yangtze was opened to trade; foreigners had the right of travel in China; the Chinese at last recognized the right of foreigners to treat on equal terms with the Chinese officials and agreed to an exchange of Ministers; and the Tsungli Yamen, an embryo Foreign Office, was established. This ended the Period of Conflict. The West had forced itself

on China and the Empire's century-old isolation was at an end.

During the Period of Submission, the Empire gradually came under the influence of the Western Powers, who, as time went on, increased their demands for privilege and territory. It should be remembered that throughout this period, and, indeed, up to the end of the Manchu Dynasty, the government of the country was in the hands of the Empress Dowager Tzu-hsi and her ministers, who ruled through a series of Emperors who were, to all intents and purposes, puppets of her will.

Conditions within the Empire were not made easier by the fact that from 1851 to 1865 the Empire was ravaged by the Taiping rebellion. The Central Government was by itself incapable of stemming the wave of revolt which surged over central China, but the Empire was ultimately saved, partly by the efforts of the two great Chinese, Tseng Kuo-Fan and Li Hung-chang, and partly by the intervention of foreigners. The first foreigner to assist the Chinese to pacify the Empire was an American, Frederick Townsend Ward, but he was mortally wounded during the campaign in 1862, and the foreigner who is best known for his participation in this campaign on the side of the Chinese Government is General Gordon, who ultimately took over the command of the "Ever Victorious Army" and brought the campaign to its conclusion in 1863 when the Taipings were driven to the wall in their last stronghold in Nanking. The head of the rebellion, the Tien Wang, committed suicide and the ancient capital was ultimately captured. The rebellion had devastated a dozen provinces, an area equal to western and central Europe, and had led to the death, through battle and famine, of about twenty million persons. It had almost brought about the fall of the tottering Manchu throne, but the throne had been propped up by foreign aid, not from any altruistic motives, be it said, but purely because it served the ends of the Western Powers to maintain the Manchu Government in control.

One result of the Convention of Peking in 1860 which brought to a close the second Anglo-Chinese war, and probably the most important from the Western point of view,

was the establishment of the Chinese Customs, which was to collect customs dues, paying one-fifth of the gross collection to France and one-fifth to Great Britain, the remaining three-fifths going to the Chinese Government. The Chinese Customs is the first example in Chinese history of a tax, the entire proceeds of which were taken over by the Government. It was not regarded with any great favour by officials, as they looked upon it as an attempt to deprive them of their rightful emoluments and also as another step towards Western domination of the Empire. The Chinese Customs will always be associated with the name of Sir Robert Hart, its second Inspector-General, who established and organized the service.

Between 1861 and 1869 China also signed treaties with many European countries and the United States, granting these countries privileges similar to those accorded to the British in the Tientsin Agreements of 1858 and 1860. It might be thought that these treaties would have satisfied the Western Powers, and also that the flow of trade might have, to some extent, reconciled the Chinese to the sacrifice of their sovereignty and national integrity, which had been forced upon them by the foreign Governments, ending with the treaties of Tientsin. This was unfortunately not the case, as some of the merchants from the West persisted in violating the treaties, in the face of continued Chinese protests, and insisted that the Agreements of 1858 and 1860 entitled them to residence anywhere in China; shipment of goods inland without payment of dues; free navigation on inland waters; and exemption from the internal taxes levied by the Imperial Government on all goods passing from province to province. Also the missionaries took advantage of the protection promised them by these Agreements and frequently established missions outside the limit specified in the Agreements and demanded privileges which had not been contemplated by those who had drawn up the treaties. On the other side, the majority of Chinese statesmen and officials still clung to their old policy of exclusion and were opposed to this extension of trade and privileges into the interior of China. These conflicting ideas were bound to lead to further troubles. The

Chinese distrust of, and hostility to, missionaries led to frequent attacks upon missions, and the murder of Mr. Margary in Yunnan led to the Chefoo Convention of 1876, in which the British demanded regulations for the conduct of frontier trade between Burma and Yunnan, the opening of new treaty ports at Ichang, Wuho, Wenchow and Pakhoi, and also the opening of six other places on the Yangtze, not as treaty ports, but as ports of call for steamers. This settlement led to considerable dissatisfaction among other foreign Powers, and the British Government, although it approved, in principle, of the terms of the settlement, bowed to hostile criticism and the Convention was not ratified until 1885.

In this period many missionary cases were the cause of friction between China and the Powers, and this friction often led to armed conflict. In spite of numerous assertions, by interested parties, to the contrary, it must be emphasized that such cases could not be shown to be due to fanatical religious persecution. China has always been tolerant of alien religions and belief; she has offered asylum in the course of her history to refugees of all faiths fleeing from religious persecution. Jews, Nestorians, Zoroastrians, Moslems, all found sanctuary at different periods in China, and most of them, at one time or another, received Imperial patronage. But deeply religious missionaries frequently took a very narrow view of their position in China, and numerous cases are on record of foreign missionaries attempting to interfere with Chinese administration of justice by giving unjustified protection to Chinese nationals of Christian faith when those nationals were sought by magistrates for trial. Missionaries even concealed Chinese who were engaged in lawsuits before Chinese courts, and such detention of a principal in a legal suit was contrary to Chinese law, as, indeed, it is to most legal systems. A close study of such cases will emphasize the deplorable lack of understanding and sympathy on the part of those who professed the best intentions in their chosen work.

In the south, France, provoked by the weak state of China, fought a brief war and annexed Indo-China, and in the north there was trouble with Russia over Ili, which, in this case,

led to a diplomatic victory by the Chinese in St. Petersburg. A treaty signed there in 1881 regained a portion of the territory of Ili from the Russians at the cost of an increase in the indemnity payable to that country. From 1886 to 1894 China enjoyed a period of comparative peace. There was a development in her export trade, and it appeared that, for the moment, the rapacity of the Western Powers had been sated. The Chinese had been elated by their diplomatic victory over the Russians on the Ili question, though they had been bereft of territory in the south by France. Court circles were invariably antagonistic, naturally enough, to Western demands, and also to the loss of sovereignty which had been imposed upon the Chinese Empire by force of arms, but *force majeure* and the wise counsels of various ministers had prevented any open clash. An example of the intransigent attitude, in Western eyes, of the Chinese Court was in the matter of audiences, which had been settled in 1883 in a form which left, in Chinese eyes, "a subtle suggestion of supremacy" which was enough to satisfy Chinese pride. It was, however, more than the Western Powers were prepared to stomach. Various demands for an alteration in procedure were made, but the question drifted on until after the outbreak of war with Japan, when foreign envoys were received in the Palace in a fashion which satisfied their sense of proper dignity.

This period of submission was, on the whole, one of comparative peace. There had not only been a period of hostilities with France over Indo-China, but the country had been rent asunder and impoverished by the Taiping Rebellion. In the eyes of the West, she had been given every chance to put her house in order, but had failed notably to make any effort in this direction. China was due for a rude shock, and the first of a series of such shocks was to be given her, for the first, but unfortunately not the last, time, by Japan.

Before dealing with the period of subjection, it is necessary to mention very briefly the events, which had occurred over a period of fifty years, which led to the rise of Japan as a Great Power.

After the first real impact of the West, with the guns of Commodore Perry, both the United States and Great Britain obtained treaties with Japan for the purpose of opening up trade. These were dated 1854 and 1858. In 1868 the power of the Shoguns, who might be compared to the feudal barons in medieval England, was overthrown and the Mikado, who had previously been merely an Imperial cypher, was restored to power. From this time onwards Japan, in contrast to her neighbour China, welcomed Western ideas and civilization and the life of the country was remodelled and recast in an endeavour to keep the traditional Government of Japan but so to combine it with whatever could be derived from the West as to get double advantages from the situation. The result of this combination of feudalism and Western totalitarianism is now only too well known. Even at the end of the last century Japan was beginning to turn covetous eyes on the possessions of her large but weak neighbour, China.

In 1894, events in Korea led Japan to make war upon China. The weak vassal state of Korea had appealed to China for help against the Japanese. A short and decisive war led to the complete defeat of the Chinese forces. The Japanese demanded, under the Treaty of Shimonoseki, in 1895, the full and complete independence and autonomy of Korea and the cession to Japan of the Liaotung Peninsula, Formosa, and the Pescadores. A large indemnity was demanded and also the continued occupation by the Japanese of Weihaiwei until the indemnity was paid. Japan also demanded the addition of four new ports to the list of treaty ports. The Western Powers, however, were not prepared to see Japan in possession of all these fruits of victory. They stepped in and forced the Japanese to give up their claims on the Liaotung Peninsula. The Japanese occupied Formosa, in spite of Chinese resistance, and it remained in their possession until their defeat in 1945.

In the next year, Li Hung-Chang went on an embassy to Europe. The first result of this mission was the agreement between China and Russia, whereby the Russians obtained the right to build the Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria to Vladivostock. The treaty contained secret clauses

under which China leased Kiaochow to Russia for fifteen years, but with a deferred occupation, and China was also to fortify Port Arthur, with Russian assistance, but China was to retain control of these two ports until a war or similar emergency required otherwise. This was the first-fruit of the Western Powers' intercession which retained the Liaotung Peninsula for China. Other Powers were soon to demand their fee for their good offices. Germany, on the excuse of the murder of two German missionaries, demanded a concession in Kiaochow Bay, including Tsingtau. Russia, although she had claims on Kiaochow, did not intervene, and the other two Great Powers, Great Britain and France, were themselves occupied with other matters: France disturbed over the Dreyfus case and Fashoda, and Great Britain with the first rumblings of the South African War. As soon as Germany had occupied Tsingtau, Russia occupied Port Arthur, and under two conventions, signed in St. Petersburg in 1898, Port Arthur and the adjacent territory was ceded to Russia on lease. Meanwhile France, despite the protestations of her Foreign Minister that she had not the slightest intention of copying Germany, announced that China had "consented" to lease to France Kwangchow Bay as a naval base. During this grab for territory, Great Britain had stood aside, and her attempts to interfere with the Russian occupation of Port Arthur had met with little success. However, the British Government stated that the action of Russia had compelled Britain to take the course of occupying Weihaiwei, which was done in 1898, despite the fact that Germany had postulated that Shantung was to be a German sphere of influence. The same year, Great Britain also obtained a ninety-nine years' lease on the Kowloon Peninsula on the mainland on the north side of Hong Kong, thus securing her naval base from a Chinese threat from the mainland. This cession of territory to the Western Powers was not the end of their demands on China. There now began the definition by the Western Powers of their spheres of influence in the Empire. In 1897 France made China declare that she would not alienate or cede the island of Hainan to any other foreign Power, and the British asked for a similar assurance

regarding the Yangtze valley. In the next year, 1898, France asked for a declaration of non-alienation regarding Tongking, and Japan asked for a similar assurance regarding the province of Fukien. It is only fair to state that the British demands were not preliminary to an attempt to break up China. In fact, the policy of the British Government was opposed to such a partition. All that was sought was an "open door policy" in such parts of China as were of interest to Great Britain. The Germans, on the other hand, maintained that Shantung had acquired a special position and was not unreservedly open to British enterprise. Great Britain had struck a bargain with Russia, by which she undertook not to interfere with matters outside the Great Wall, if Russia would not interfere with her position regarding the Yangtze.

This period marks the lowest ebb of the Manchu Dynasty since its first impact with the West. It must not be thought that there were not attempts in China to put the country's house in order and attempt some internal reform. It is at this period that, for the first time, Sun Yat-sen first appears on the scene of Chinese history. Born in 1866, his education was conducted largely under English missionary auspices; he studied medicine in Hong Kong and afterwards practised in Macao, where he came in touch with Kwangtung revolutionaries. After the failure of an armed raid on Canton, he went, via Honolulu, to America, and thence to England, preaching the doctrine of Chinese revolt against the corrupt Manchu regime.

Dr. Sun was convinced that the only way to reform China was to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty, but China was not ready at this period for such a revolutionary doctrine. Another Cantonese, Kang Yu-wei, was equally convinced of the necessity for reform, but he harboured no such ideas as Dr. Sun, being persuaded that it was still possible for China to be reformed and take her place alongside the other nations under the existing Government. Even in Peking there was a reform party, but in general it can be said that the north sided with the Empress Dowager and reaction, while the intellectuals of the south were on the side of reform. The Empress Dowager herself had retired from the regency in

1889, but though officially retiring into the shadows, she still interfered in politics whenever she thought it necessary. The young Emperor, Kuanghsü, read, and was much influenced by, the works of Kang Yu-wei, and he himself thought that the time for reform was ripe. The Emperor was untutored and his ideas were crude, though his intentions of reform were undoubtedly sincere. Between June and September, 1898, a series of decrees was issued with bewildering rapidity, dealing with, among many other matters, the encouragement of science and agriculture; the reform of the lawcourts; the establishment of a naval academy; the reform of the army and the educational system; as well as measures for increasing and improving trade. The reforms in themselves were admirable, provided they could be carried out; but many of them struck at the root of Manchu privilege. In order to enforce them it would have been necessary to have the support of the army, and this was under the control of one of the Empress Dowager's key men. The Emperor pinned his hopes on Yuan Shih-kai to assist him, especially in regard to the army. The part played by Yuan in subsequent events is still obscure, but it appears that he, not for the last time, sold the pass to the reactionaries, and betrayed the cause of reform. The Empress Dowager received warning of the Emperor's plans, which included her arrest and that of all the leaders of the Conservative Party. She struck before the Emperor could act, and the latter retired into seclusion, and what was, to all intents and purposes, solitary confinement, for the rest of his life, while a warrant was issued for the arrest of Kang Yu-wei, who managed to flee the country. The counter-revolution then got into full swing, and such of the Emperor's decrees as had come into force were abrogated; punitive measures were taken against Kwangtung, which was regarded as the nerve-centre of revolt in the south; and reaction again resumed its sway. "The hundred days of reform" were over; the last opportunity for an enlightened Empire was gone; and by the suppression of Kang Yu-wei's reform movement the Empress Dowager signed the death warrant, not only of the reformers, but also of her own dynasty.

The series of misconceptions and tragic misunderstandings led eventually to the Boxer Rising. Much has been written about this most distressing page in Anglo-Chinese relations, and it is not our purpose to add more. Subsequent consideration has shown how little was achieved at the cost of so much suffering and bitterness; it has also shown how similar situations can be prevented in the future—perhaps the one solid result of the whole sorry business. It is now generally admitted that the concession-hunting Governments of the West and their official and religious representatives must share with the people and officials of China the responsibility "even for those atrocities which were actually committed by the Chinese".

From this point onwards the Manchu Dynasty writhed reluctantly in its dying struggles. Disintegration was so far advanced that nothing could halt the decease which had been threatening for two decades. The revolutionary forces had been gathering strength and experience from their failures—costly though some of these had been. A fresh, clean tide was sweeping the country and a spirit of vigorous hope was spreading through the people.

The Manchus were conscious of all this, but they died hard. It was, after all, in character for them to stare ruin in the face and still fight on. They were conscious of past glories in their House, but they failed to see the innate rottenness which had crept in, unobserved, with the passing years. They saw an unreasoning herd of revolutionaries who must be suppressed that the Manchu dynasty might live; they put forth all their energy and wiles, but to no effect. China was to be Chinese again; if the revolutionaries had their way, more gloriously Chinese than ever before. The Manchus made their last throw and failed; in 1911 the Republic was born.

CHAPTER IV

RISE OF MODERN CHINA (1911–1931)

(1) *Revolutionary Movement before the Revolution* 1911

REGARDED philosophically as a logical historical development from the past, the rise of modern China takes its place as a natural phenomenon in the progress of the Chinese towards that fuller democracy which was always inherent in the national consciousness. It is significant of the comprehensiveness of Chinese philosophy that writers and reformers of later ages could always find, in the annals of the past, full justification for the tenets they held and sought to spread.

The efforts of revolutionists prior to 1911 were numerous and unsuccessful The last two decades of Manchu sovereignty were restless with revolutionary change, and from 1895 onwards a quickening of the national consciousness in matters of culture, politics, education and economic standing made itself felt in the capital. The Manchus soon discovered that it was not enough to put down one outbreak after another. Some vital force had been released which was not to be readily subdued; could they then appease the people?

There were not wanting enlightened advisers to the throne who pointed out that the dynasty might be saved by concessions to the popular clamour. There were, indeed, reforms which very nearly reached the Statute Book, but which were withheld, at the last moment, by the Empress Dowager. But many important people had by this time read Kang Yu-wei's vigorous writings (notably his *Book of the Great Commonwealth*), and this opened before their eyes a vision of national glory which outshone any previous Golden Age. They were anxious to lend their aid in the establishment of a restored China where the vision would be made reality.

Briefly, this outline of development was this: international anarchy and chaos led national states to form military alliances for mutual protection. Each country maintains a strictly national currency and erects its own tariff barriers

as a measure of protection for its trade and industry. Inequality of personal rights and of wealth is the rule rather than the exception, and as property is "sacred" expropriation is a crime, or at least justifiable only on payment of due compensation. There is a complex code, civil and criminal, providing varying degrees of punishment for misdemeanours and crimes in order to keep the people in order.

From this stage (which was, in effect, the world of his time as seen by Kang) a transition is to be made. A super-State is to emerge in which the individual states are no longer paramount units, striving or uniting among themselves, but simple units, operating as part of an international Government regulating the relations between the different members as necessity arises. The operations of this international Government gradually bring about the equalization of the rights within the different member-states but fail to abolish racial inequality. A beginning has been made with the modification of the principle of legal punishment; capital punishment no longer operates, but punishment still exists in some forms.

The final stage is reminiscent of the Golden Age spoken of by Confucius to other teachers. In this stage the State is abolished and the Great Commonwealth emerges. There now subsists full equality between all the former State-members and all racial and nationalistic distinctions disappear.

There is no private property, and, in place of elaborate codes of punishment, a sense of shame is sufficient to keep the people in order. The family is no longer the unit of social life. Motherhood becomes a community concern. Houses and restaurants are publicly owned and run. The able-bodied are privileged to work and do not regard it merely as a duty. The worker receives as a right the whole produce of his labour. The aged and infirm are supported by the whole community: the dead are cremated and their ashes given back to the earth as fertilizers. Research fellows and scientists, as well as others who have distinguished themselves in the public service, are specially rewarded by public honours.

These ideas inspired a pupil of Kang's, Liang Ch'i ch'ao. This man led the intellectual world of China throughout the first two decades of the present century. Whereas there was a timidity about Kang's reforming zeal, Liang showed the vigour of the time untrammelled by any backward groping.

In 1898 the Emperor Kuang Hsu did, indeed, inaugurate the "One Hundred Days' Reforms" in a number of edicts which, if carried into effect, would have caused far-reaching changes. But the Empress Dowager refused to yield and Kuang Hsu's efforts came to nothing. Thus was the doom of the Manchus sealed and a stronger impetus given to the revolutionary movement.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, rightly called the Father of the Chinese Revolution, had, in the year 1892, at Macao, founded the Hsing Chung Hui, or Regenerate China Society. Three years later, at Canton, Dr. Sun launched his first uprising, but it was foredoomed to failure, although it had a stimulating effect on the reform party in the Manchu Government. Again in 1900, in 1902, and in 1904 uprisings occurred, but the time was still not ripe. These failures impressed on Dr. Sun the need for close and detailed organization. The result of much travel abroad and deep consideration of all facets of the problem was the formation, in Tokyo in 1905, of the Tung Meng Hui, or Brotherhood Society, the direct parent of the Kuomintang.

Between the time of its foundation in 1905 and the successful rising at Wuchang on October 10, 1911, the Tung Meng Hui promoted no fewer than thirteen abortive revolts. When the Wuchang rising took place numerous other risings began in sympathy throughout the eighteen provinces (as they were then called). Dr. Sun was in Colorado, but he hastened to China, and on his arrival in Nanking he was elected Provisional President of the Republic of China. He assumed full office and responsibility on January 1, 1912. On February 12 the Manchu Emperor abdicated, and on February 23 Dr. Sun resigned in favour of Yuan Shih-kai. A Provisional Constitution (of fifty-six articles) was promulgated on March 11, 1912.

Up to this time the Tung Meng Hui had, of course, been a secret organization, proscribed by the Manchu regime. On the establishment of the Republic it came out into the open. Sung Chiao-pen now advocated the broadening of the basis of the League to include other political parties. The Kuomintang was thereupon formed by the amalgamation of the limited Democratic Party and the People's Public Party. Although Dr. Sun was elected President of the newly formed Kuomintang Party, he did not assume office, but asked Sung Chiao-pen to act on his behalf.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was born in troublous times. His birth was in 1866 (two years after the long-drawn-out Taiping Rebellion), and he grew up in the years of decadence marking the end of the Manchu Dynasty. In 1879 he went to visit his emigrant elder brother in Honolulu, and he won the second prize at a school there for English grammar. Returning home in 1883, he studied at Queen's College, Hong Kong, until 1886, in which year he began the study of medicine in Canton. When the new Medical School was established in Hong Kong in 1887 Sun Yat-sen was the first registered student. In 1892 he graduated in Medicine and Surgery.

Although he practised medicine and surgery both in Macao and Canton, he did not for long remain content with this career. He had his own ideas as to the future which lay ahead for his country, and it was not long before he became the leader of a secret society for the reconstruction of his country under Chinese leadership. All movements of this kind had to be secret movements, as the Manchus were vigilant in crushing opposition and cunning in discovering such movements.

He had a vision of a Chinese Republic, not such a type as had existed before in China and elsewhere, but a new Republic where all the people would be sharers in the heritage of China's long history of culture and partakers of the greatness which he felt awaited her in the future. The war with Japan in 1894 showed the weakness of the existing regime and the need for new measures. China was cutting a poor figure in the world! Then followed rising after rising, with the Manchus making half-hearted attempts at appeasement

between bursts of savage repression. But Sun Yat-sen never lost sight of his goal; setbacks were to him only temporary inconveniences. He knew he was on the right track and that ultimately he must triumph.

Through numerous vicissitudes and long wanderings over the face of the earth gaining sympathy and finance for his cause, Dr. Sun persisted in his aim. He was an outcast from his own country with a price on his head; he was kidnapped and held prisoner in London; he associated with all who could and would help in the great work to which he had now devoted himself utterly. He talked with Russian revolutionaries and compared notes on plans and procedure. He took note of all he saw wherever he went; and while admitting the great material progress made in the West, he realized that, "in spite of great achievements in wealth and military prowess, the great Powers of Europe had not yet succeeded in providing the greatest happiness for the vast majority of the people, and that the reformers in these European countries were working hard for a new social revolution".

Thus Dr. Sun was led to consider a more fundamental solution of China's problems than the mere adoption of any existing foreign system. The first outline of his plan (presented in a memorandum to Li Hung-chang) formulated his idea of the four fundamental objectives of a modern State:

(1) To enable man to exert his utmost capability.
(2) To utilize land to its utmost fertility.
(3) To use material nature to its utmost utility.
(4) To circulate goods with the utmost fluidity.

This formed the basis of his later, *San Min Chu I*, or Three Principles of the People.

On December 29, 1911, the Provisional Senate of the Republic met and, by a vote of sixteen to one, elected Dr. Sun Provisional President of the Republic. On New Year's Day, 1912, he was inaugurated President at Nanking. On February 12 the Manchu Throne abdicated, and on the following day Dr. Sun tendered his resignation to the Provisional Senate. On February 14 his resignation was accepted and

Yuan Shih-kai was elected Provisional President in his place.

It was unfortunate for China, and for the early years of the Republic, that the man chosen to succeed Dr. Sun should have proved unworthy. He was a reactionary and a traitor to the Republic. The newly reorganized Republican Party, now called Kuomintang (literally "The People's Party"), found itself plunged into a series of fierce struggles between its own adherents and the reactionary forces under the leadership of Yuan Shih-kai. At first, few people saw which way events were tending and numerous honest Kuomintang members had no doubts as to the good faith of Yuan Shih-kai in the role of Provisional President. Others, however, saw that Yuan was striving for absolute power, and that he was unscrupulous enough to use the military forces to gain his ends if he were opposed.

The People's Party (Kuomintang) had an overwhelming majority in both Houses of the new Parliament elected in 1913. This is an important fact often overlooked in the discussion of later events in Republican history. But the reactionary elements had military and financial power on their side, and eventually Parliament was dissolved by force and the Kuomintang was forced to disband. Dr. Sun went into exile in Japan. Yuan Shih-kai, deeming the moment ripe, proclaimed himself Emperor in 1915. But, in spite of his military and financial backing, he was unable to overcome the tide of resentment raised against this perfidious *volte-face*. All liberal parties united to fight against this restoration of an Imperial Dynasty, and Yuan died, a bitterly disappointed man, on June 6, 1916.

But this, alas, was not the end of his influence. The warlords who had backed Yuan's gamble (unsuccessful though it had been) had learned that power might more readily be won and held by the man who had the greatest force at his command. There came into being, then, that protracted series of struggles between contending war-lords which made China a tortured battlefield for a decade. No wonder many ardent followers of Dr. Sun began to lose heart. What power could the beneficent influence of their leader

exert against these war-lords concerned only with their own aggrandisement and concerned not at all with the welfare of the people?

While the contending war-lords dominated the situation Dr. Sun gave himself up to deeper researches into systems of government and social betterment, coming out from time to time to take an active part in the revolutionary campaigns against the war-lords, but his successes were not spectacular. In 1924 he undertook a radical reorganization of his party on the model of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia. This brought in a large number of Russian political and military advisers and enlarged the Kuomintang by the admission to its membership of members of the Chinese Communist Party.

But the strain was beginning to tell. A busy life full of journeys, alarms and strains, physical and mental, ended with Dr. Sun's death in Peking on March 12, 1925. Already the newly vitalized revolutionary party was winning its first major successes against the reactionary war-lords, and a fortnight after Dr. Sun's death the province of Kwangtung was cleared of opposition forces and thus became the base for the new Nationalist Revolution.

But China was facing tribulation not only among her own people (who, as yet, had little idea of what this new political movement might mean) but from outside. Even before the first Great War far-seeing students of international affairs realized what was wrong, but little heed was paid to their warnings. Japan had already mapped out her plan of Asiatic domination as a prelude to her bid for world conquest. This was an old plan, indeed, lying open to the gaze of any students able to read Japanese history, but the handful of scholars who were able to see Japan's designs spoke to deaf ears. Japan had impressed the Western Powers and Great Britain felt that an Anglo-Japanese alliance was worth while. China was still to be a zone of influence apportioned between the Great Powers.

There were one or two intelligent people who pointed out that, logically, China was the country best to repay the Power making alliance with her. But they were laughed to scorn.

There is not even a stable Government in China, they were told—how can China in her present state make an alliance with any nation? Yet, in spite of abundant proof of Japanese insincerity and opportunism, the Great Powers continued to court Japan and agree to her steadily increasing depredations on the mainland. It is, of course, easy to see now how Japan's schemes have militated against the best interests of all liberty-loving nations, but it is deplorable to know that the plain facts have been before our eyes for fifty years and that none would see. Had China found one champion among the Great Powers in these early days of her struggle, the Far Eastern war would never have taken place.

Difficult as China's position was in 1914, it was shortly to be aggravated still further. Japan saw her chance and entered the war against Germany and made straight for the German concession in Shantung, which, with British help, she captured. She then carried her forces onward for a hundred miles or so until she had a strategic position from which to take her next step. This was the submission to China of the infamous Twenty-one Demands. The Allies, of course, were too busy in Europe to take much notice, although there were a few observers to comment on the "insolence" and "aggressiveness" of Britain's Far East ally. The wonder is that, the Great War over, there were no statesmen in the West far-sighted enough to see what lay behind the Twenty-one Demands.

The Peace Treaty disappointed China's hopes, but China persisted until the Powers took notice of the actual position. Some attempt to right the wrong done to China at Versailles was made at the Washington Conference in 1921, where nine Powers, including Japan, agreed to respect the sovereignty, independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China, and to give China the fullest opportunity "to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government". How little Japan intended to carry out her undertakings is shown by her constant activity towards the disintegration of nationalist China during the past thirty years. She financed the war-lords wherever stability appeared likely and used the internal dissension she had herself created as a pretext for sending her own troops farther and farther

into the north-eastern provinces (sometimes called Manchuria), and finally into the northern provinces beyond the Great Wall.

The shadows of past evils lay heavy over China. With the fall of each successive dynasty in China there had been, usually, a period of anarchy, with internecine struggle for the succession. The Republic found this legacy another obstacle in its path. Although the Republican Government had, before the end of the first World War, established itself in the southern provinces (and was reaching out towards the north), the country north of the Yangtze Kiang had split into rival factions, each under its own war-lord. Some of these war-lords received money and troops from Japan and the struggle was long and bitter. Eventually, however, the Kuomintang army in the south marched northward, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, and the days of the war-lords were numbered.

From the death of Yuan Shih-kai in 1916 up to the second revolution in 1926 China was almost completely in the hands of rival war-lords—a state of affairs used as a pretext by the Great Powers for preserving their grip on the country by old-established treaty rights, and by Japan for extending her military and political control over different areas. In 1924 the four-year-old Communist society "for studying Socialism and Marxism" was formed into a branch of the Third International and was called the Chinese Communist Party. Yet it was not long before the traditional Chinese way with foreign conceptions began to work its modification upon these principles, so that Chinese Communism became a very different thing from its Russian prototype.

This may best be seen in the Three Principles of the People, influenced as these were by age-old principles seen in action by Dr. Sun in his travels through Western lands. The principles are briefly: Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood. They are not new (even to China, where, in successive periods, each of the principles has been stressed as of prime importance), but the planning of a new State wherein these principles should prove the basis of all Government activity was the supreme achievement of Dr.

Sun: "a State belonging to all the people, a Government controlled by all the people, and rights and benefits for the encouragement of all the people."

The task was gigantic. Dr. Sun knew its magnitude and provided for its achievement by stages. First must come the period of military operations to tranquillize the country and secure unification; then must follow the period of political tutelage. This second stage would be prolonged, for, in the Western sense of the word, China was far from being politically conscious. Illiteracy, widespread under the old Empire, was the main brake on the wheel of political progress, and the whole nation must go to school. When the entire nation could read and write, political awareness would sweep over the masses and the country would be ready for the third stage—constitutional government. Although the scope of the problems facing the Kuomintang leaders was fully realized, their enthusiasm and vision were such that great strides were made in the years following the Northern Expedition of 1925, and wherever the Nationalist Armies went they informed the people along the lines of the Three Principles and sought their help in establishing the principles in practice. Simultaneously, as the Southern Armies swept into Central and North China to overthrow the war-lords, trained Kuomintang members, skilled in administration and propaganda, went into the liberated districts to begin the training of the people in the principles of self-government.

(2) *First Ten Years of the Republic*

The Republic was established in 1911, following the successful uprising in Wuchang on October 10 under the direction of the Tung Meng Hui, or the China Brotherhood Society, the predecessor of the Kuomintang. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was elected the first President of the Provisional Republican Government with his capital in Nanking, and he assumed office on New Year's Day, 1912. He soon resigned in favour of Yuan Shih-kai, head of the northern Military Clique, who served as Premier of the Manchu Government in its last stages.

Yuan moved the capital to Peking (now Peiping), where his forces were concentrated. In September, 1912, he was elected President of the Republican Government. Soon afterwards he dissolved Parliament and made himself a virtual dictator.

Yuan Shih-kai was a highly ambitious war-lord and politician. After China's defeat by Japan in 1894, Yuan was commissioned by the Manchu regime to train a new army in an effort to strengthen national defence. By the time of the 1911 Revolution, Yuan had under him a large force and was thus able to dictate both to the Manchus and to the revolutionaries. Dr. Sun resigned the presidency in favour of Yuan in the hope that Yuan might be conscientious enough to put the national interests above personal considerations.

The dissolution of Parliament made China merely a nominal republic. Even that nominal status vanished in 1916, when Yuan attempted to make himself Emperor and started another monarchical dynasty in China. Yuan called himself "Emperor" and stayed on the "throne" for eighty-two days. He paid $800,000 for two of the "dragon" robes the Emperor wore. His Imperial seal, made of gold, weighed more than fifty pounds. He created a number of dukes, marquises, and other nobles.

Violent opposition made itself felt throughout the country. Dr. Sun led an armed revolution against Yuan, who died of despair. Yuan's death did not mean, however, the end of reaction against the democratic movement in China. The country found itself ruled by the bayonets of the war-lords, most of them being Yuan Shih-kai's followers and subordinates. Civil wars among the contesting war-lords resulted in general chaos and confusion over a period of many years.

China suffered another restoration plot, launched by the "Pigtail General" Chang Hsu, who in 1917 attempted to reinstate Pu Yi as Emperor. He failed after Tuan Chi-jui, one of Yuan's lieutenants, drove Chang's forces out of Peking.

The Military Clique was divided into several camps, all fighting one another to secure power and position. Among them were Chang Tso-lin, whose headquarters were in the north-eastern provinces; Wu Pei-fu, who held some Central

China provinces and once extended his power as far as Peking; and Sun Chuan-fang, who overran several provinces in eastern China, including the Shanghai area. A number of smaller war-lords existed here and there, associating now with one leader and now with another. Their sole purpose was to preserve their own power and wealth.

In the first stages of the Republic, the Western Powers were more or less confined to their established rights, as gained from the Manchus, part of which, owing to the rising demands of the Chinese people, had been retroceded. The only nation which not only clung to her gains but tried to grab more was Japan. Yuan Shih-kai's monarchical attempt in 1915 was backed up by Japanese loans and armed help. Taking advantage of the opportunity presented when the Western Powers were busily engaged in the first World War, Japan, in 1915, presented her notorious Twenty-one Demands to Yuan Shih-kai's Peking Government. By those demands Japan attempted to make China her protectorate. To preserve his position and power, Yuan accepted a major part of the Demands, thus arousing nation-wide opposition and resentment.

China entered the World War in 1917, when Tuan Chi-jui, then China's Premier, coerced Parliament into approving China's participation in the war. Dr. Sun Yat-sen fully approved China's taking her part in the war, but objected to Tuan Chi-jui's unconstitutional methods in attaining his end. Throughout the period of the European War civil wars continued in China. Tuan Chi-jui finally resigned in 1918, as the nation resented his pro-Japanese policy. The new Government, under President Hsu Shih-chang, sent a delegation to the Paris Conference with great hopes that China might regain from the Germans her lost rights and interests in Shantung (which Japan had forcibly taken over) as well as participate in all the rights as provided by President Wilson's Fourteen Points. The Shantung problem remained unsolved and the Chinese delegates did not sign the Peace Treaty.

Meanwhile relations between China and Japan had steadily deteriorated. Sino-Japanese problems were again discussed

at the Washington Conference in 1922, as a result of which the Nine-Power Treaty was signed. According to that treaty, Chinese sovereignty and territorial integrity were to be respected. The Shantung problem was also brought to a close, as Japan agreed to withdraw her troops from that province and return the interests to China.

(3) *The Rise of the Kuomintang*

The Kuomintang functioned as an ordinary political party following the establishment of the Republic. The *Tung Meng Hui* was reorganized into the *Kuo Min Tang*, or the People's Party, in 1912, and it had a majority in the Parliament in Peking. As the Party proposed the democratization of the country, it was naturally a thorn in the flesh of Yuan Shih-kai, who later not only dissolved the *Kuo Min Tang* but also Parliament to clear the way for his monarchy.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen reorganized his Party into the *Chung Hua Ke Ming Tang*, or the Chinese Revolutionary Party, in 1914 and led the opposition against Yuan Shih-kai. After the death of Yuan Shih-kai, the Peking Government remained in the hands of the war-lords. Dr. Sun went with his followers to South China in defence of the constitutional Government against Tuan Chi-jui, the Provisional Chief Executive of the Peking Government in 1924–6.

In 1919 the Party was reorganized into the *Chung Kuo Kuo Min Tang*, or the Chinese People's Party, which is now known as the Kuomintang. Four years later, a more thorough reorganization was effected.

The First National Congress of the Kuomintang was held in Canton in 1924. At this Congress the Kuomintang formulated its political programme and adopted Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles as the Party platform.

Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles are the Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of the People's Rights, and the Principle of the People's Livelihood. The essential idea of Dr. Sun's teachings is to create a united and independent China in which the people will enjoy both political and economic democracy. A rough translation of these principles

may be given in the words of Abraham Lincoln: "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." The Principle of Nationalism aims at racial freedom. The Principle of People's Rights is designed to give the people not only the right of election but the rights of recall, initiative, and referendum. The Principle of the People's Livelihood is essentially socialistic and calls for the equalization of land ownership, the regulation of private capital, and the development of national capital. Its general purpose is to assure a reasonable standard of living for all the people.

The Kuomintang's political programme, which was revised at the Sixth National Congress of the Party in May, 1945, aims at building a new China free from external oppression and internal confusion. Based on the Three People's Principles, the revised programme is divided into three major portions. With regard to nationalism, the Kuomintang seeks to secure freedom for the nation and equality for all the racial groups within the country. In its present phase, the urgent task of the Party is to strive for an early victory and to assist in the development of the frontier races so as to achieve an independent, free, united nation in order that China may bear her proper responsibility in the promotion of international peace. With regard to the people's political rights, the Kuomintang seeks to promote both the direct and indirect sovereign rights of the people. At its present stage of development, it aims at the early establishment of a constitutional Government, consummation of local autonomy, popularization of people's education, and protection of the status of women. With regard to the people's livelihood, the Kuomintang seeks to attain the equalization of land ownership on the one hand and the control of private capital on the other. With this in view, the primary task of the Government will be to assist the people in the production of the four necessities: food, clothing, shelter, and means of travel. The Government is striving to help the people to develop agriculture, textile industry, housing projects, and means of communication. In planning war-time production, consideration has also been given to post-war reconstruction, in which private enterprise will be assisted and encouraged,

foreign capital and technical assistance welcomed, development of agriculture and industry kept in balance, and to demobilization of soldiers for absorption into peace-time work so as to raise the standard of living of the people.

Immediately after its reorganization in 1924, the Kuomintang embarked upon the great task of overthrowing the northern war-lords who had been the main obstacles to the progress of China since the founding of the Republic. The first step taken was the establishment of the Whampoa Military Academy, now known as the Central Military Academy, China's Sandhurst. Dr. Sun, then head of the Nationalist Government at Canton, appointed Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek President of the Academy. Cadets from this academy later formed the backbone of the Nationalist Army which swept over the entire area of south and Central China in the space of less than two years. The campaign, known in China's contemporary history as the Northern Expedition against the War-lords in 1926–8, was brought to a successful conclusion in 1928 when the revolutionary forces took Peking (now Peiping) and the north-eastern provinces joined the Nationalist Movement under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen did not live long enough to see the success of the Northern Expedition. At the beginning of 1925 there was a change in the Peking Government, which increased Dr. Sun's hope for an early unification of the country. After he arrived there his health declined rapidly and he died on March 12, 1925. After the death of Dr. Sun, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek became the leader of the Kuomintang.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was born in Fenghwa, Chekiang Province, on October 31, 1887. He paid a brief visit to Japan in 1905, when he met Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He studied at the Paoting Military Academy in North China in 1906 and at the Tokyo Military Academy in 1907–11. He returned to China, following the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution, and joined the Revolutionary Army in Shanghai.

He then followed Dr. Sun to Canton and was sent to Moscow in 1923 to study the Soviet military organization.

He returned to China in the same year and was appointed President of the Whampoa Military Academy in 1924. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Expedition forces in 1926, and by 1928 he had unified China once more.

Following the establishment of the National Government in Nanking in 1928 he was elected President of the National Government. He resigned in 1931. In the following year he was appointed Chairman of the National Military Council. He was elected *Tsungtsai* (Director-General) of the Kuomintang at the Party's Extraordinary National Congress in 1938 and was re-elected at the Sixth National Congress of the Party in May, 1945. In 1943 he succeeded the late Mr. Lin Sen as President of the National Government.

The internal organization of the Kuomintang is along the line of democratic centralization. The supreme authority of the Party is its National Congress, which elects the Party's Central Executive and Supervisory Committees. This Congress nominally meets every two years. The first Congress was held in 1924, the second in 1926, the third in 1929, the fourth in 1931, and the fifth in 1935. Since 1935, war-time difficulties have prevented the holding of a session of Congress until May, 1945, when the Sixth National Party Congress was held to make necessary preparations for the convocation of the National Assembly and the initiation of a fully constitutional Government. In 1938, one year after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, the Party held an Extraordinary National Congress, which elected Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek *Tsungtsai* of the Party and adopted a *Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction*, the highest guiding principle in war-time China.

When the National Congress is in recess the highest organs are the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee. The two committees functioning at present were elected by the Sixth National Congress. Under the National Congress, the provincial congress meets every year, the *Hsien* (county) congress meets every six months, the *chu* (district) congress or *chu* members' general meeting meets every two months, and the sub-*chu* members' general

meeting meets every two weeks. During recess their respective executive committees act as the organs of authority. Each organ of authority must take orders from the higher organ and carry out its resolutions.

The existing General Regulations of the Kuomintang were adopted by the first National Congress in 1924, and have since been revised several times. In their present form, the *General Regulations* have thirteen chapters with eighty-nine articles. According to the Regulations, anyone who is willing to accept the platform of the Party, to carry out its resolutions, to observe its discipline, and to fulfil the duties and obligations imposed by the Party, may, upon his or her application for membership being accepted, become a member of the party. A member has the right to express his opinion, to vote, to elect, and to be elected.

The Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, under the present Party Rule, is competent to decide on any matter in regard to Party and Government affairs, subject only to revision by the Party National Congress. It elects the President of the National Government who is responsible to it, pending the inauguration of a constitutional Government.

The Central Executive Committee has its own administrative structure. Under it are a number of boards and subcommittees, including the Board of Organization, the Board of Overseas Affairs, the Information Committee, and the Training Committee. It also has a Secretariat in charge of routine matters. During the recess of the Central Executive Committee, its functions are exercised by a Standing Committee of twenty-five.

Following the Northern Expedition of 1926–8, the National Government was formally set up in Nanking. The Kuomintang had then established its Party Rule and initiated a period known as the Period of Political Tutelage according to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings.

Dr. Sun divided his nation-building scheme into three periods, namely, those of Military Operations, Political Tutelage, and Constitutional Government. In the Period of Military Operations everything is subordinated to military needs. The Nationalist Army during this period defeated the

war-lords and brought operations to a close in 1928, when the Period of Political Tutelage was introduced. The second period begins in any province when peace and order are completely restored. Its component counties must each take a census, survey all land, set up an efficient self-defence force, and build all necessary roads. Before a county is qualified for self-government, its people must be given training in the exercise of their four political powers, namely, election, recall, initiative, and referendum. When all the counties in any province have been thus prepared, that province advances into the Period of Constitutional Government and a representative assembly must be organized. Finally, when more than half of the provinces in the country have advanced into the same stage, the National Assembly should be convened to adopt and promulgate a *Permanent Constitution*. This will be followed by the formation of a new National Government responsible to the National Assembly instead of to the Party National Congress, as is the case at present.

China under Kuomintang rule is still in the Period of Political Tutelage. The outbreak of the war in 1937 had prevented the convocation of the National Assembly, though necessary preparations had already been completed. The Assembly was, however, scheduled to meet on November 12, 1945, the eightieth birthday anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, in spite of war-time difficulties, because the Kuomintang deems it unwise to prolong unduly the Period of Political Tutelage.

The Kuomintang's Party Rule has been embodied by law. In 1928 the *Programme of Political Tutelage* was enacted and promulgated. Article 1 of the Programme reads: "During the Period of Political Tutelage the Kuomintang National Congress shall lead the nation and exercise governing powers on behalf of the National Assembly." Later, the Programme was incorporated in the *Provisional Constitution for the Period of Political Tutelage*, promulgated in June, 1931. Article 72 of the *Provisional Constitution* provides: "The National Government shall have a President and an appropriate number of State councillors, who shall be elected and

appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang." Article 85 of the same law reads: "The power of interpreting this *Provisional Constitution* shall be exercised by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang."

For the direction and supervision of the National Government, the Kuomintang organized a Political Committee in 1924, which was known as the Central Political Council. The existing Central Political Council was formed in November, 1935. For the direction of war-time administration, however, the existing Political Committee ceased to operate, and its functions were taken over in August, 1937, by the Supreme National Defence Conference, which was reorganized in January, 1939, into the Supreme National Defence Council, war-time China's highest organ of political direction.

According to its organic law, the Political Committee had a chairman, a vice-chairman, and from nineteen to twenty-five members, chosen by the Central Executive Committee from among its own members and from members of the Central Supervisory Committee.

The organization of the National Government is based on Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings. Dr. Sun split sovereignty into two portions, with the political powers to be exercised by the people through the National Assembly and the governing powers to be exercised by the Government. He believed in direct democracy and wished the people to have the rights of election, recall, initiative, and referendum. The Government is entrusted with five powers, namely, executive, legislative, judicial, examination, and control, constituting quintuple-power Government. The first three are much like those exercised by Western democracies. The essential purpose of examination is to select civil servants through competitive methods, and that of control to see that public servants obey the law and that the Government functions in accordance with the fixed policies of the State.

The National Government has now a President in the person of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and a State Council composed of from twenty-four to thirty-six State Councillors. Both the President and the State Councillors are

elected and appointed by the Central Executive Committee. The President is responsible to the Kuomintang C.E.C.

Under the National Government there are five Yuan, namely, the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, the Examination Yuan, and the Control Yuan, exercising the five governing powers respectively. The presidents and vice-presidents of the five Yuan are elected and appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang from among the State Councillors recommended by the President of the National Government. The presidents and vice-presidents of the five Yuan are responsible to the President of the National Government.

The Executive Yuan functions very much as does the British Cabinet; its President, however, is not so powerful as the Prime Minister of Great Britain, because the President of the National Government in China is both titular and real head of the State. Under the Executive Yuan there is a number of ministries and committees in charge of the various aspects of national affairs. The Legislative Yuan is charged with matters pertaining to legislation, budgets, amnesties, declaration of war, negotiation for peace, and other important international affairs. Under the Judicial Yuan are the Supreme Court, the Administrative Court, and the Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries. The Examination Yuan functions through the Ministry of Personnel Administration and the Commission of Civil Service Examination, while the Control Yuan takes charge of impeachment and auditing. All matters which cannot be settled between two or more of the Yuan are to be referred to the meetings of the State Council for decision.

In the National Government headquarters there are three departments, namely, the Civil Affairs Department (Secretariat), the Military Affairs Department (Aide-de-Camp's Office), and the Directorate-General of Budgets, Accounts, and Statistics. Directly under the Government, besides the five Yuan, there is a number of other organs in charge of special duties. Among them is the all-powerful National

Military Council, which was until recently the General Headquarters of China's War of Resistance.

Following the unification of the entire country in 1926–8, the National Government, under the direction of the Kuomintang, immediately embarked upon the task of reconstruction and modernization. Progress was made in all fields, such as education, communications and general economic enterprises. Long strides were made in the development of both light and heavy industries.

The most important measure taken was to give political training to the people in preparation for the establishment of a constitutional Government. Steps were taken for the acceleration of local self-government through the strengthening of the lower administrative units in the county.

The period following the conclusion of the military campaigns against the war-lords is known in China as the Period of Political Tutelage as outlined by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In 1928 the Kuomintang promulgated the *Programmes of Political Tutelage*, which legalized the Party Rule. This programme was enforced through the promulgation, in June, 1931, of the *Provisional Constitution for the Period of Political Tutelage*, which is still in force, pending the adoption of a *Permanent Constitution* by the National Assembly, which was scheduled to meet on November 12, 1945.

The aim of the *Programme for the Period of Political Tutelage* is explained in its preamble, which reads: "The Kuomintang, seeking the realization of Tsungli's (Dr. Sun Yat-sen's) Three People's Principles, enacts this *Programme for the Period of Political Tutelage*, during which, in accordance with the *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction*, the people will receive training in the exercise of their political powers until the commencement of constitutional government and the complete attainment of democracy by the entire people."

The *Provisional Constitution for the Period of Political Tutelage* was adopted by the National People's Convention, held in 1931. This Convention was composed of delegates from the professional groups of the various provinces and the members of the central committees of the Kuomintang.

The aim of this *Provisional Constitution* is to accelerate the realization of constitutional government and to restore the political power to a popularly-elected Government in pursuance of the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

One of the greatest problems faced by the Kuomintang since its reorganization in 1924 is the problem of the Chinese Communist Party. The tale of the Kuomintang's relations with the Communist Party is long and complicated. In 1922 Mr. A. A. Joffe, the Moscow Government's special envoy to China, met Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Shanghai. The following January they issued a joint statement, which read in part: "Dr. Sun Yat-sen holds that the Communistic order or even the Soviet system cannot actually be introduced into China, because there do not exist here the conditions for the successful establishment of either Communism or Sovietism. This view is entirely shared by Mr. Joffe, who is further of the opinion that China's paramount and most pressing problem is to achieve national unification and attain full national independence, and regarding this task, he has assured Dr. Sun Yat-sen that China has the warmest sympathy of the Russian people and can count on the support of Russia."

In 1924 an understanding was reached between the Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Party, whereby individual Chinese Communists were allowed to join the Kuomintang "in order to bolster up the strength of the revolutionary elements in the country". Soon after they joined the Kuomintang, the Communists, however, engaged in activities contradictory to the Three People's Principles. At first they were opposed to the Northern Expedition. After the Expedition was launched, they worked their way into various political and military organizations, and extended their networks and surreptitious activities. Meanwhile, important Communist leaders gathered in Hankow and created disturbances behind the Nationalist forces, thereby sabotaging the Expedition. Later, they openly brought pressure to bear upon the Nationalist troops and created a reign of terror in Central China.

In order to save the Expedition from failure, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and other Kuomintang leaders went to Nanking, and in April, 1927, Nanking was declared the national capital of China. Simultaneously, steps were taken to purge the Kuomintang of rank-and-file Communists. In July of the same year the Communists adopted a programme of armed insurrection, which continued throughout the years until they were thrown out of the Central China provinces and fled to northern Shensi. Throughout the Republican years, China's worst enemy has been Japan, whose purpose it was to make China a subjugated nation under her direct control. Japanese ambitions were unmasked in the notorious Tanaka Memorial in 1927, in which the Japanese Premier and militarist, Baron Giichi Tanaka, said, "In order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia; in order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China." The Japanese staged armed intervention in an attempt to stop the advance of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's Revolutionary Army in Shantung in 1928.

Unification and progress under the National Government prompted Japan to take direct action in carrying out her aggressive programme against China. In 1931, on the night of September 18, she struck at Mukden, the provincial capital of Liaoning, one of the four north-eastern provinces of China, thus initiating the notorious Manchurian Outrage. Japan's design to alienate Manchuria from China had long been a cherished plan. She first hoped that Chang Tso-lin, the old war-lord and ruler of China's north-east, would become her puppet. Finding him not absolutely obedient, the Japanese murdered him through a treacherously-planned train accident. Old Marshal Chang was killed in the explosion near Mukden when he was travelling from Peking to the Liaoning capital.

Chang Tso-lin was succeeded by his son, the Young Marshal, Chang Hsueh-liang, who proved even more unsatisfactory to the Japanese, as he responded readily to the movement of national unity under the Kuomintang and National Government.

Japan's invasion of China's north-eastern provinces caused some uneasiness among the Western Powers. Little action, however, was taken to check Japan's aggressive activities. The failure of the League of Nations in applying sanctions against Japan gave her an even freer hand to carry out her plans; which led to her attack in the Shanghai area in 1932 and the outbreak of a full-scale invasion of China in 1937.

CHAPTER V

RESISTANCE AND RECONSTRUCTION

(1) *The Struggle with Japan*

THE unification of China under the National Government and the rapid progress made under the Kuomintang leadership of the country were the prime factors inspiring Japan to aggressive measures before China should reap the full reward of her gigantic efforts. It was clear to the militarists in Japan that it was a case of now or never.

The Japanese were by this time adepts at staging "incidents", as they had been for years in the matter of peaceful penetration by "traders" and "experts". The so-called Mukden Incident of September, 1931, provided the "justification" Japan needed, in the eyes of the world, for her seizure by force of China's three north-eastern provinces (commonly known as Manchuria).

It soon became clear that this was no isolated affair, but was, indeed, a stage in Japan's scheme of conquest of all China, then what remained of the Far East, including British, U.S. and Commonwealth possessions. After a short space for consolidation, the all-conquering Japanese were then to strike westward through India and Persia and engulf the whole Middle East before linking up with their brother Fascists in the eastern Mediterranean. This scheme was well-known to Orientalists who knew Japan, but when they reported the facts to their own countrymen they were ridiculed. The very definitely grandiose nature of the scheme carried its own refutation, according to the stay-at-homes. How wrong they were was shown by the swift victories attending Japan's initial bows.

Early in 1932 Japan struck her blow at Shanghai to control the Yangtze, and the name of Chapei will live for ever as a memorial to Chinese valour and Japanese ruthlessness. The inhabitants of the Shanghai-Woosung areas had the first taste of Japanese war-making and Bushido, so soon to be

shown, in improved technique, in the rape of Nanking and other Chinese cities. In preparation for this blow "civilian" Japanese had infiltrated into the Yangtze delta lands for some years and practised a variety of trades. It was obvious to the ordinary observer that these "businesses" must have been heavily subsidized, or the shopkeepers would have gone bankrupt long before. When war came, however, the shopkeepers disappeared; they were now clad in uniforms of the Japanese forces.

A year later (early 1933) the "War of the Great Wall" resulted in Japan extending her dominion over the eastern section of the Wall and, further, added Jehol to the puppet organization in the north-eastern provinces, extended the invasion to northern Chahar and carved out a demilitarized zone from eastern Hopei under Japanese domination.

China's faith in the League of Nations did her credit. She applied to that body, stating the bald facts of the most barefaced aggression the world had seen since the League had been formed. The fact that the Western Powers still saw the Far East as "too far away" to bother themselves over-much with aggression there did not prevent China from emphasizing the need for a clear view of the situation. The League existed to curb aggression (among other things), and aggressive acts in one part of the world, if successful, would set off a train of similar acts elsewhere. It was, in fact, a trial run. China did her utmost to arouse the slumbering moral consciousness of the nations; China's vision was clear and her judgment sound. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek even made a public appeal to the democratic Powers on July 7, 1939, "to abandon appeasement and unite against aggression!"

Eventually, of course, the Western Powers had to take notice. Although the facts of the case were clearer than is usual in international affairs, a League Commission of Inquiry was appointed and sent to Manchuria. It duly reported its findings and Japan was dubbed aggressor. This provoked hostility among the Japanese and led, before long, to Japan's delegates walking out of the League. Japan's excuses were flimsy enough, but to any intelligent observer they could mean but one thing: when the League could no

longer serve Japan's purpose, Japan would pursue her course of aggression, naked and unashamed, without the hampering membership of an international organization to exercise the least restraint.

The logical next step to Japan's invasion of the north-eastern provinces on September 18, 1931, was the "incident" on July 7, 1937, when they wantonly attacked the main body of the Chinese Republic and were unsuccessful against a growing national consciousness and a well-led defence.

The first fifteen months after Lukouchiao was a period of almost unmitigated disaster for China. Many foreign observers were inclined regularly to ask how long the country's power for resistance could stand the unending series of defeats inflicted on it, the enormous casualties caused by superior Japanese fire-power, and the loss of its fertile and most developed territory along the coast. In those months Peiping, Tientsin, Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow and Canton fell to Japan; the area in which was located almost all of her infant industry was lost to China.

But in spite of these great losses, relieved and illuminated by episodes of great heroism on the part of Chinese troops and by some initial local successes, such as that at Taierchwang in April, 1938, China's power of resistance held firm and indeed grew as Japanese atrocities heightened the country's already nascent spirit of unity in the fight to preserve her freedom. The figure of Chiang Kai-shek, prepared for the appalling sacrifice and yet confident in his people's ability finally to thwart Japan's aggressive aims, was a potent factor in preventing the panic collapse which the enemy had expected.

Indeed, by the time that they had reached the peak of their territorial success after the occupation of Hankow in October, 1938, the Japanese were already beginning to show signs of strain. It was evident that they had not counted on the long-lasting resilience and cohesion of the Chinese armies and the Chinese people, and had expected, by breaking central resistance, quickly and cheaply to conclude their campaign.

Instead of this they had found by the end of 1938 that the

main Chinese armies were unbroken, that there was no wavering in the spirit of the Government or people, and that even in the areas which their troops had overrun their authority held only within range of their guns. China's scorched-earth policy and the bodily removal of industrial plants from the Lower Yangtze area had denied them many of the fruits of conquest, and in all the vast territories behind the line of their advance Japanese rule could only be maintained by direct force.

Everywhere in China off the main lines of communication, which the Japanese at considerable cost to themselves had constantly to garrison and patrol, Chinese guerilla forces were springing up and Chinese civil administration responsible to Chungking was being re-established. In those isolated districts, surrounded by the Japanese lines of penetration, considerable bodies of Chinese troops, ill-equipped but well-organized, were ever ready to descend on isolated Japanese detachments and destroy them.

This, then, was the story of the three years between the fall of Hankow and Japan's attack on Great Britain and the United States. The main armies of both sides found themselves stalemated, China for lack of arms and Japan for inability to find a soft spot against which she could concentrate sufficient force to achieve decisive victory in the rugged country of West China. The picture was not unrelieved by incident; in 1939, for instance, Japan made probably the first attempt in history to win a war solely by indiscriminate bombardment from the air. She failed, although she kept up her raiding tactics against an almost undefended Chungking for two more years, until 70 per cent of the city was laid in ruins. Japan also made some small land advances, notably in 1940 up the Yangtze to Ichang, where the river flows out of the great gorges, once a scenic attraction but now a bastion of defence.

These lonely years for China were not years of inactivity, though there was little at the front line to show for what she was doing. Between 1938 and 1941 the Japanese captured a place here, the Chinese recaptured another there. Neither side was able to inflict a mortal or even a damaging blow

on the other. China succeeded in denying to Japan the full use of four of the country's main trunk railways (Peiping–Hankow, Hankow–Canton, Haichow–Paoki and Hangchow–Changsha), while Japan kept China from the already half developed bases in the north and east by whose industrialization the Republic had long planned to reconstruct the Chinese nation.

It was, however, the Japanese who were the greater sufferers from this situation of temporary and partial stalemate. China, besides achieving a hitherto unknown political solidarity and a resultant tightening of central military control over even the remotest guerrilla areas behind the enemy's lines, was discovering and developing the rich area of her western provinces, which she was now forced to make the base of her resistance, and was beginning to gather to herself international support from the Western democracies on a scale which foreboded an eventual counter-offensive against the aggressor on at least equal terms.

The Burma Road was built, opened, closed and reopened; and along it began to flow increasing quantities of war material into China. The factories removed by manpower 1,500 miles from the sea-coast came gradually into operation, while new resources of the undeveloped west and the north-west were opened up and exploited. Japan began to see how Chiang Kai-shek retained through the darkest days his confidence in the ultimate ability of China, supported as she surely would be by the freedom-loving countries of the world, to drive the aggressor from her land.

By 1941, Japan's position was becoming desperate. On the one hand the United States had extended Lease-Lend aid to China, on the other, both Great Britain and the United States had applied stringent economic sanctions against Japan. A Volunteer Group of American airmen was fighting as part of the Chinese Air Force to defend the Burma Road along which those Lease-Lend supplies, and others from Great Britain and Soviet Russia, must pass. The identification and solidarity of the countries which fought for freedom was becoming unmistakable and potent—and Japan was not among them; China was.

Japan attacked. However complex her motives for that attack on the great Western Powers, the closing of the Burma Road—the physical isolation of China to compensate for her own moral isolation—must have been among them.

In six months of war she succeeded in closing the road, in effecting that physical isolation. Chinese armies, fighting under an American commander, fighting on foreign soil for the first time in centuries, were not enough to turn the tide for the outnumbered British forces which defended Burma. That same American Volunteer Group which had been the first element of Western democracy to go into action against Japan inflicted heavy losses on the Japanese Air Force over British soil, but could not finally resist the dominance of numbers. Elsewhere in South-East Asia and its neighbouring islands Japan had victories which brought within her grasp the resources which she lacked for making total war—total war against China and all the nations which ranged themselves at China's side as defenders of democracy and the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter.

But even in those days of quick victory, so like the days of 1937, when China herself was being "beaten to her knees in three months", Japan got from her new enemies a hint of things to come. On April 18, 1942, the first instalment of the bill incurred at Shanghai, Canton and Chungking was repaid. Aircraft swooped over Tokyo, over the Yokosuka naval base and over other industrial targets in Japan. Four years before, Chinese aircraft had dropped leaflets on the islands which make up Japan; the aircraft of China's ally now dropped bombs. The effect was immediate. Although the American raiders had taken off from a carrier in the Pacific, they had flown on to bases in eastern China constructed especially for such an operation, bases no more than 600 miles from Nagasaki, Japan's great southern port. From there they could come again. The Japanese in China were instructed at all costs to occupy those vital airfields.

Two army corps were mustered in Hangchow and Nanchang and the attack began. China commemorated July 7, 1942, in an atmosphere of renewed retreat. Not only had their and the British armies been chased out of vital Burma;

not only was Hong Kong in Japanese hands in spite of Chinese efforts to relieve it; not only had the fall of Singapore and Manila deprived the United Nations (now a reality which included China) of their bases in the West Pacific. Aside from all these, the Japanese, mustering tanks, aircraft, heavy artillery against Chinese rifle and machine-gun fire, had come down into the "dagger province" of Chekiang and taken those bases so laboriously built up to be a vital hole in Japan's careful all-round cushioning of her homeland. To the man in the street it looked bad; the coastal zone was occupied, and the Japanese had pushed southward until the whole of the vital Chekiang–Kiangsi railway on which so many hopes depended was in their hands. To the Chinese High Command it probably looked less bad. They had in four years evolved a strategy which allowed these things to happen but did not allow them to persist.

Appropriately enough, it was actually on July 7 that the tide began to turn in Chekiang and Kiangsi. Pursuing the well-tried strategy of earlier years, the Chinese had melted away to the flanks of the mechanized Japanese advance down the railway and the major roads instead of allowing themselves to be forced into a general retreat from the area. Now regrouped and holding useful defensive positions in the hilly country difficult of access to Japanese armour, they began to sally forth against short sections of the railway disrupting the enemy supply line and forcing him to weaken his advanced elements for protection of his rear.

By the middle of August these tactics had made the forward Japanese positions difficult to hold. A general Chinese counter-attack from the south was synchronized with intensified harassing of flanks and rear, and the Japanese began a withdrawal north-west and north-east towards the bases from which they had originally pushed down the railway. The withdrawal was at first reluctant, and brisk battles were fought in the latter part of August before the Japanese eventually decided that they must retire from almost all the positions their offensives had gained them.

Although the vital bases were recaptured, the Allies had a long time to wait before they got the news of Japan's

second air raid. Much needed to be done before the B.29's could be brought to China and could take off from there with their loads of destruction for Japanese war industry. The story of the task, of how it was accomplished, and of the simultaneous progress made by the Allies towards the ultimate goal of defeating the main Japanese armies on the mainland of Asia, is in large measure the story of China's share in the struggle against Japan during the two and a half years since Britain and the United States became her partners in that struggle.

In the first place, China's task as an ally in the Pacific war was the same as that she had undertaken alone for four and more years—the defence of her remaining vital territories against the enemy. Until 1941 her collapse would have been regarded as a disaster only for her; now it was seen as a potential disaster for all the United Nations. It is a disaster which China, after eight years of war, can still say she has done more than to avert. Not only does she still exist as a fighting nation; she has, in spite of sore trials and ever-acuter deficiencies of equipment, transport and supply, in general stood her ground. At Yuyangkwan and Changteh in 1943, three times at Changsha, and after the first Tokyo raid in Chekiang, she has held or regained her ground. Only in Honan in May, 1944, and later between Changsha and Hengyang, were her forces pushed far back.

China's second task is to hold down and away from other United Nations fronts the maximum of Japanese forces, and, on the small scale possible for her in view of her shortage of arms, to harry and kill the greatest possible number of the enemy. This she has done, not only in the few major battles where casualties are great, but in innumerable small engagements up and down her 2,500-mile front. According to the Chinese War Minister, General Ho Ying-chin, there were during 1943 no less than 5,427 such engagements, and they cost the Japanese 160,000 men in killed and wounded. Even this figure probably does not include many of the forays conducted far behind the enemy's lines by the guerrilla troops which played a vital part in China's resistance. In one month of 1942 alone the Japanese reported 582 such

guerrilla attacks, directed against such well-chosen military objectives as telephone and power lines, roads and railways.

There is some difficulty in describing the type and organization of the men, and women, who were responsible for this continual harrying of the enemy on the thresholds of his rearward bases. From the members, both senior and undergraduate, of Peiping universities who in 1937 rallied the stolid farmers to resistance in the Western Hills just outside the city, to the hard-bitten Communist veterans of the Long March through western China, and to whole divisions of the regular Chinese Army which were ordered to "retreat forwards" when the areas they defended were overrun by the enemy, they embraced every section of China's vast and heterogeneous population. For the most part, the important thing about their development into an essential arm of China's fighting forces was the increasing degree of military organization and contact with main centres of resistance that they achieved. They have always represented a nation in arms; increasingly they represented a nation fighting to a plan.

There were certainly more than half a million of them, diversely equipped and led, in many cases armed mainly with the weapons they captured from the Japanese. The most constant factor was the unanimous support they received from the civil population, who considered them their defence forces established by authority of the civil administration, responsible to Chungking, which is maintained in the majority of areas in "occupied" China where there are not actually permanent Japanese garrisons. Tokyo radio has had a word to say on this subject, too. An enemy commentator in January 1944 complained that the guerrillas were always given all manner of assistance by the people of the district in which they operated. Whenever a populated place known to harbour guerrillas was surrounded by Japanese punitive forces, they always got away through underground channels with the help of the local population. "The chagrin felt by the men of our forces," the commentator declared, "cannot be comforted by tears. In face of the unfair tactics employed by the guerrillas, Nipponese garrisons in the

smaller North China towns usually withdraw at nightfall to fortified barracks in order to avoid being trapped or individually picked off."

This constant danger to Japanese detachments and the consequent strain on their morale was a significant contribution by the guerrillas to the weakening of the enemy. More basically important still was the very fact that strong and well-armed garrisons and railway and road patrols had to be maintained by Japan wherever, in the million and more square miles of China she had overrun, she wished to exercise any form of effective control. In addition she had to have always in readiness at key points large reserves of men and armour for periodic full-scale "punitive campaigns" in any area where guerrilla organization and effectiveness became such as to threaten the general security of her forces.

All this activity, defensive by the main armies and harassing by the mobile forces and guerrilla units, was only preparatory to the counter-offensive which China waited to mount when the means were available and when she could attack in full contact and synchronization with her Allies. In the same preparatory category was the para-military labour service through whose intensive application the bases for the B.29's and for other Allied aircraft moving into China were quickly built, as well as the war organization of free China's primitive communication lines over which supplies for air forces and armies had to be brought up without waste of precious fuel across vast distances from the south-west gateway to the world to the fronts where they were needed.

But while the preparations and the period of holding war were not yet over, the year 1944 saw in one area at least the beginning of the counter-offensive towards which all was planned and done. The same Chinese forces which General Stilwell, Chief of Staff to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, led into Burma from China for the campaign of 1942 and brought out again into India were then fighting their way back across Burma to China. Reinforced by battle-seasoned units flown from China, these forces spent eighteen months training in the use of weapons the like of which no previous Chinese Army had ever had the opportunity of using. Then, as the

1943 monsoon lifted, they struck from the northern tip of the Indo-Burmese frontier into the Hukawng Valley. Behind them, and protected by their advance, American engineers and Indian, Chinese and Negro labourers toiled to cut a new road to China through the jungle from Ledo, the railhead in north-east Assam.

Before the end of March, 1944 after four and a half months' fighting, these troops—the 22nd and 38th Divisions of the Chinese Army, an independent Chinese-American tank brigade, an American commando force and Gurkha and Kachin levies—had cleared the enemy from the whole of the Hukawng Valley and captured the pass of Jambubum at its south-eastern end. Without pausing, they moved forward down the headwaters of the Mogaung River which led them to the main road and railway system of North Burma and on the route to China. Progress down the Mogaung was slow in face of stiffening enemy resistance in April, 1944, but a series of daring swoops brought units to the outskirts of Mogaung city behind the main Japanese centres of resistance to the north, and—more important—to Myitkyina, railhead and principal city of North Burma.

While the Japanese position in North Burma was thus being destroyed and the Ledo Road forces were joining hands with the British Chindits, who, from their air-supplied base farther south, had rendered invaluable assistance to the main campaign by cutting the communications of the Japanese, the Allies struck another blow—this time from China itself. In mid-May 1944 a powerful Chinese Army under General Wei Li-huang attacked across the Salween River to launch China's first general offensive in seven years of war. Assisted by detached Chinese forces which the Japanese, in repeated campaigns, had been unable to dislodge from toeholds on the west bank of the Salween, this army secured bridgeheads along a front of 120 miles and drove westwards to join hands with their compatriots and Allies at Myitkyina and Mogaung. Within a month they had reached the Burma Road town of Lungling, one of Japan's two main advanced bases in western Yunnan, and were threatening Tengchung, the other, from three sides. Many miles of acutely difficult country and much

hard fighting still lay between them and the goal which would mean the reopening of China's land communications with the West. The monsoon increasingly hampered operations and prevented the exercise of the air superiority achieved by the U.S. China-based 14th Air Force. But the goal was in sight. After four years without allies and three more with allies whose military aid to her was rendered almost negligible by lack, not of will, but of communications, China had, partly thanks to the assistance given her, but partly by her own effort and determination, come nearly to the point where she could physically as well as spiritually join hands with Britain and America in the common fight against Japan.

(2) *Reconstruction*

The Chinese were very far-seeing when they decided that reconstruction must go hand-in-hand with resistance. However impossible of achievement this dual programme might appear to Westerners, the Chinese pointed out that the war could not be properly carried on without a measure of reconstruction, rigorously pursued, marching with it.

The whole economic, industrial and educational systems must be overhauled and all possible improvements introduced even while the war was in progress. China took the long view: the war might, especially when hostilities in Europe ended, end suddenly, and there would then be a danger of China finding herself unprepared for her peace problems. Then, said the Chinese, the war might have been fought in vain.

So the democratic institutions of modern life had to be set up on the basis of the innate democracy of the Chinese way of life. There had to be a force in Chinese life similar to that now so commonplace in Western countries. The Peoples Political Council must be a real representative body with as wide powers as similar elected bodies.

These things were done. Problems caused by large-scale occupation by the enemy were resolutely tackled; other difficulties were overcome by steady perseverance in the face of almost insuperable obstacles. Chinese economy

was stabilized, industry steadily enlarged and made more efficient, and educational undertakings were launched on a scale never before conceived.

Better than any comment on China's progress towards constitutional democracy is the presentation of two important documents which will speak for themselves.

The first document is the Organic Law of the National Government of the Republic of China. Since the establishment of the National Government in 1927, it derives its mandate from the Organic Law which has been several times revised. This is a translation of the Organic Law as revised at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang on September 10, 1943.

The second document is officially known as the Final Draft Constitution of the Republic of China. The Chinese Republic is just over thirty-three years old and the Chinese people were first committed to a democratic constitutional Government when in the year 1911 the revolutionary forces overthrew the Manchu regime. The story of the Chinese people of these years may be said to be a story of persistent struggle for constitutionalism.

The history of the Constitutional Movement dates back to the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894, when China was forced to realize that she had many things to learn from the West, among which was a constitutional form of government. From 1894 onwards, the movement went on without a break, and various attempts were made from time to time to introduce a constitutional Government into China. Among these attempts we may mention The Outlines of the Constitution of 1905, The Nineteen Articles of 1911, The Provisional Compact of 1912, The Temple of Heaven Draft of 1913, and the so-called Tsao Kun Constitution of 1923.

The crisis brought about by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 convinced many leaders in the Government of the necessity and urgency for national unity and solidarity, and they believed that the early establishment of a constitutional Government in place of political tutelage under the Kuomintang would be the best means of bringing about such a national unity and solidarity. In the National

Emergency Conference held in April, 1932, and at the meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang held a little later, it was decided (1) that the People's Congress should be convened in March, 1934, and (2) that the Legislative Yuan should draw up a draft Constitution as soon as possible.

On the basis of the latter part of the resolution, the Legislative Yuan began immediately the task of Constitution-drafting. The Draft (see page 146 *et seq.*) represents the culmination of three years of labour and seven changes of drafts. One incident connected with China's Constitution-drafting may be of interest. When the Preliminary Draft Constitution was ready, the Legislative Yuan decided to have it published on March 12, 1934, with the object of inviting public criticism. During the two and a half months that followed its publication, 291 memoranda were received by the Legislative Yuan. These opinions and criticisms were carefully analysed and classified and they formed a voluminous book, entitled *The Compilation of Opinions on the Preliminary Draft of the Constitution.* This compilation was most valuable to the Drafting Committee.

The Final Draft was approved by the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang and was published by the mandate of the National Government on May 5 (the fifth day of the fifth month), 1936. Hence it has also been known as the "Double Five" Draft.

Since the war, the constitutional question was brought up by the People's Political Council (war-time parliament). A commission of twenty-five councillors was appointed at a session in September, 1939, which reported its findings at its following session in April, 1940. The only modification proposed by the commission was the creation of a *yi-cheng-hui* or political assembly of 150 to 200 members to exercise all the powers of the People's Congress during its recess. This body could pass confidence or non-confidence votes on the President of the Executive Yuan (who would be equivalent to a premier and virtual head of the administration). In the case of non-confidence, the President of the Republic would have to appoint a new premier or dissolve the assembly and

call an extraordinary session of the People's Congress to decide the issue as well as to elect a new assembly. The debate continued for two days. As opinions were irreconcilably different, it was considered inopportune to make any changes in the Draft Constitution at this stage.

A significant development regarding the Draft Constitution took place during the meeting of the Central Executive Committee in September, 1943. It was resolved that the People's Congress be convened within one year after the conclusion of the war to adopt and promulgate the Constitution. In pursuance of this resolution and for the promotion of the constitutional movement, the National Government thereupon appointed a committee for the Establishment of Constitutional Government. The functions of the Committee are: (1) to make proposals to the Government concerning preparations for the establishment of constitutional government, (2) to investigate the progress of local self-government and to make reports thereon to the Government, (3) to investigate the enforcement of laws and regulations concerning constitutional government and to make reports thereon, (4) to serve as a link between the Government and the people in connection with the question of constitutional government and related political problems, and (5) to deliberate on matters relating to the Constitution as mandated by the Government.

In his 1945 New Year message to the Chinese people President Chiang Kai-shek moved the goal of China's constitutionalism, perceptibly nearer when he declared that "we must prepare for the convening of a People's Congress within this year, to adopt and promulgate a Constitution". President Chiang added: "I am ready immediately to propose to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang that as soon as the military situation has become so stabilized as to enable us to launch counter-offensives with greater assurance of victory, we should convene a People's Congress to adopt a Constitution, which would enable the Kuomintang to transfer the power of the Government to the people. Therefore we must in this year employ our entire strength to beat back the enemy, and also to introduce a constitutional Government, with the entire nation solidly bound together."

DRAFT

THE ORGANIC LAW OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

I. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. The National Government, in pursuance of Article 77 of the *Yueh Fa* (Provisional Constitution) of the Political Tutelage Period, do hereby enact and ordain the following Organic Law of the National Government of the Republic of China.

II. THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Article 2. The National Government shall exercise the governing powers of the Republic of China.

Article 3. The National Government shall have the supreme command of the land, naval and air forces.

Article 4. The National Government shall have the power to declare war, to negotiate peace, and to conclude treaties.

Article 5. The National Government shall promulgate laws and issue mandates.

Article 6. The National Government shall exercise the power of granting amnesties, special pardons, remission of sentences, and restoration of civil rights.

Article 7. The National Government shall exercise the power of conferring medals and decorations of honour.

Article 8. The National Government shall have under it the following five Yuan to exercise respectively the five political powers of administration, legislation, judiciary, examination and control: (1) the Executive Yuan; (2) the Legislative Yuan; (3) the Judicial Yuan; (4) the Examination Yuan; and (5) the Control Yuan. Each of the aforementioned Yuan may, according to law, issue orders.

Article 9. The National Government may, when deemed necessary, set up subordinate organs to be controlled directly by the National Government. The organization of such organs shall be determined by law.

Article 10. The National Government shall have a President and from twenty-four to thirty-six State Councillors appointed

by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang of China.

Article 11. The President of the National Government shall be the Head of the Republic of China and shall represent the Republic of China in foreign relations.

Article 12. The President of the National Government shall be the Commander-in-Chief of the land, naval and air forces.

Article 13. The President of the National Government shall hold office for three years and he may be reappointed provided, however, that after the enforcement of a Permanent Constitution and upon the inauguration of the President elected he shall hold office for the same duration. In case the President of the National Government is incapacitated by any cause the President of the Executive Yuan shall act on his behalf.

Article 14. All laws promulgated and all mandates issued by the National Government shall be signed by the President of the National Government according to law. Such laws promulgated and mandates issued shall be countersigned by President or Presidents of the Yuan concerned.

Article 15. The Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the five Yuan of the National Government shall be selected and appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang of China from among the State Councillors recommended by the President of the National Government. The President of the National Government shall be responsible to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang of China and the Presidents of the five Yuan shall be responsible to the President of the National Government.

III. THE STATE COUNCIL

Article 16. The State Council shall be composed of the President of the National Government and the State Councillors.

Article 17. All matters which cannot be settled between two or more of the Yuan shall be referred to the meetings of the State Council for decision.

Article 18. The regulations governing the meetings of the State Council shall be separately drawn up.

IV. THE EXECUTIVE YUAN

Article 19. The Executive Yuan shall be the highest executive organ of the National Government.

Article 20. The Executive Yuan shall establish Ministries to which shall be entrusted the various executive duties.

The Executive Yuan may appoint Commissions to take charge of specified executive matters.

Article 21. The Ministries of the Executive Yuan shall each have a Minister, a Political Vice-Minister, an Administrative Vice-Minister, and the various Commissions shall each have a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and several members.

The Ministers of the various Ministries and the Chairmen of the various Commissions shall be appointed or removed, according to law, by the President of the National Government at the instance of the President of the Executive Yuan.

The Political Vice-Ministers and Administrative Vice-Ministers of the various Ministries and the Vice-Chairman as well as Members of the various Commissions shall be appointed or removed, according to law, by the President of the National Government at the instance of the President of the Executive Yuan.

Article 22. In case the President of the Executive Yuan is unable to discharge his duties from any cause whatsoever, the Vice-President of the said Yuan shall act in his place.

Article 23. The meetings of the Executive Yuan shall be attended by the President and the Vice-President of the Executive Yuan, the Ministers of the various Ministries, and the Chairmen of the various Commissions, and presided over by the President of the said Yuan.

Article 24. The following matters shall be decided at the meetings of the Executive Yuan:

(1) Bills on legislative matters to be introduced in the Legislative Yuan.

(2) Budgets to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan.

(3) Amnesties to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan.

(4) Declaration of war and negotiation for peace to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan.

(5) The appointment or dismissal of administrative and judicial officials of or above the rank of Chien-Jen (Third Class).

(6) All matters which cannot be settled between the various Ministries and Commissions of the Executive Yuan.

(7) All matters which, according to law or in the opinion of the President af the Executive Yuan, should be decided at the meetings of the said Yuan.

Article 25. All orders and acts of disposition of the Executive Yuan, in order to be effective, shall be countersigned, in respect

of those affecting general administrative affairs, by the entire body of Ministers, and, in respect of those affecting only one Ministry, by the Ministry concerned.

Article 26. The organization of the Executive Yuan shall be determined by law.

V. THE LEGISLATIVE YUAN

Article 27. The Legislative Yuan shall be the highest legislative organ of the National Government.

The Legislative Yuan shall have the power to decide upon the following: legislation, budgets, amnesties, declaration of war, negotiation for peace, and other important international affairs.

Article 28. In case the President of the Legislative Yuan is unable to discharge his duties from any cause whatsoever, the Vice-President of the said Yuan shall act in his place.

Article 29. The Presidents of the various Yuans and the Ministers of the various Ministries may attend the meetings of the Legislative Yuan to offer explanations.

Article 30. The Legislative Yuan shall be composed of from forty-nine to ninety-nine Legislative Members, who shall be appointed and removed, according to law, by the President of the National Government at the instance of the President of the Legislative Yuan.

Article 31. The Legislative Members of the Legislative Yuan shall hold office for two years and shall be eligible for reappointment.

Article 32. The Legislative Members of the Legislative Yuan shall not hold any concurrent Government posts.

Article 33. The President of the Legislative Yuan shall preside over the meetings of the Legislative Yuan.

Article 34. The organization of the Legislative Yuan shall be determined by law.

VI. THE JUDICIAL YUAN

Article 35. The Judicial Yuan shall be the highest judicial organ of the National Government.

The granting of pardons and reprieves and the restitution of civic rights shall be signed by the President of the National Government at the instance, according to law, of the President of the Judicial Yuan.

Article 36. The Judicial Yuan shall establish a Supreme Court, an Administrative Court, and a Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries.

Article 37. The President of the Judicial Yuan shall act concurrently as the President of the Supreme Court, and the Vice-President of the Judicial Yuan shall act concurrently as the Chairman of the Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries.

Article 38. The President of the Judicial Yuan may, when deemed necessary, in regard to the trials at the Administrative Court and the Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries, personally conduct and dispose of such trials.

Article 39. In case the President of the Judicial Yuan is unable to discharge his duties from any cause whatsoever, the Vice-President of the said Yuan shall act in his place.

Article 40. The Judicial Yuan may introduce in the Legislative Yuan bills on matters within its own competence.

Article 41. The organization of the Judicial Yuan shall be determined by law.

VII. THE EXAMINATION YUAN

Article 42. The Examination Yuan shall be the highest examination organ of the National Government and shall exercise, according to law, the powers of examination and the determination of qualifications for public service.

Article 43. In case the President of the Examination Yuan is unable to discharge his duties from any cause whatsoever, the Vice-President of the said Yuan shall act in his place.

Article 44. The Examination Yuan may introduce in the Legislative Yuan bills on matters within its own competence.

Article 45. The organization of the Examination Yuan shall be determined by law.

VIII. THE CONTROL YUAN

Article 46. The Control Yuan shall be the highest supervisory organ of the National Government and shall, according to law, exercise the following powers:

(1) Impeachment
(2) Auditing

Article 47. In case the President of the Control Yuan is unable to discharge his duties from any cause whatsoever, the Vice-President of the said Yuan shall act in his place.

Article 48. The Control Yuan shall be composed of from twenty-nine to forty-nine Supervisory Members, who shall be appointed and removed, according to law, by the President of the National Government at the instance of the President of the Control Yuan.

Article 49. The security of tenure of office of the Supervisory Members of the Control Yuan shall be determined by law.

Article 50. All meetings of the Control Yuan shall be attended by the Supervisory Members of the Control Yuan and presided over by the President of the said Yuan.

Article 51. The Supervisory Members of the Control Yuan shall not hold any concurrent public offices.

Article 52. The Control Yuan may introduce in the Legislative Yuan bills on matters within its own competence.

Article 53. The Organization of the Control Yuan shall be determined by law.

IX. ADDITIONAL ARTICLE

Article 54. The present Law shall come into force on the day of its promulgation.

FINAL DRAFT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA[1]

Preamble

By virtue of the mandate received from the whole body of citizens and in accordance with the bequeathed teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Founder of the Republic of China, the National Assembly of the Republic of China hereby ordains and enacts this Constitution and causes it to be promulgated throughout the land for faithful and perpetual observance by all.

[1] Drafted and revised by the Legislative Yuan, April 30, 1937, and released by the National Government on May 18, 1937.

Chapter I

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. The Republic of China is a *San Min Chu I* Republic.

Article 2. The sovereignty of the Republic of China is vested in the whole body of its citizens.

Article 3. Persons having acquired the nationality of the Republic of China are citizens of the Republic of China.

Article 4. The territory of the Republic of China consists of areas originally constituting Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anwhei, Kiangsi, Hupeh, Hunan, Szechwan, Sikang, Hopei, Shangtung, Shansi, Honan, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Fukien, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kweichow, Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungkiang, Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan, Ninghsia, Sinkiang, Mongolia and Tibet.

The territory of the Republic of China shall not be altered except by resolution of the National Assembly.

Article 5. All races of the Republic of China are component parts of the Chinese Nation and shall be equal.

Article 6. The National Flag of the Republic of China shall have a red background with a blue sky and white sun in the upper left corner.

Article 7. The National Capital of the Republic of China shall be at Nanking.

Chapter II

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE CITIZENS

Article 8. All citizens of the Republic of China shall be equal before the law.

Article 9. Every citizen shall enjoy the liberty of the person. Except in accordance with law, no one may be arrested, detained, tried or punished.

When a citizen is arrested or detained on suspicion of having committed a criminal act, the authority responsible for such action shall immediately inform the citizen himself and his relatives of the cause for his arrest or detention and shall, within a period of twenty-four hours, send him to a competent court for trial. The citizens so arrested or detained, or any one else, may also petition the court to demand from the authority responsible for such action the surrender, within twenty-four hours, of his person to the court for trial.

The court shall not reject such a petition; nor shall the responsible authority refuse to execute such a writ as mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

Article 10. With the exception of those in active military service, no one may be subject to military jurisdiction.

Article 11. Every citizen shall have the freedom of domicile; no private abode may be forcibly entered, searched or sealed except in accordance with law.

Article 12. Every citizen shall have the freedom to change his residence; such freedom shall not be restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 13. Every citizen shall have the freedom of speech, writing and publication; such freedom shall not be restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 14. Every citizen shall have the freedom of secrecy of correspondence; such freedom shall not be restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 15. Every citizen shall have the freedom of religious belief; such freedom shall not be restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 16. Every citizen shall have the freedom of assembly and of forming associations; such freedom shall not be restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 17. No private property shall be requisitioned, expropriated, sealed or confiscated except in accordance with law.

Article 18. Every citizen shall have the right to present petitions, lodge complaints and institute legal proceedings in accordance with law.

Article 19. Every citizen shall have the right to exercise, in accordance with law, the powers of election, recall, initiative and referendum.

Article 20. Every citizen shall have the right to compete, in accordance with law, in State examinations.

Article 21. Every citizen shall, in accordance with law, be amenable to the duty of paying taxes.

Article 22. Every citizen shall, in accordance with law, be amenable to the duty of performing military service.

Article 23. Every citizen shall, in accordance with law, be amenable to the duty of rendering public service.

Article 24. All other liberties and rights of the citizens which are not detrimental to public peace and order or public welfare shall be guaranteed by the Constitution.

Article 25. Only laws imperative for safeguarding national

security, averting national crisis, maintaining public peace and order or promoting public interest may restrict the citizens' liberties and rights.

Article 26. Any public functionary who illegally infringes upon any private liberty or right shall, besides being subject to disciplinary punishment, be responsible under criminal and civil law. The injured person may also, in accordance with law, claim indemnity from the State for damages sustained.

Chapter III

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Article 27. The National Assembly shall be constituted of delegates elected as follows:

1. Each district, municipality or area of an equivalent status shall elect one Delegate, but in case its population exceeds 300,000, one additional delegate shall be elected for every additional 500,000 people. The status of areas to be equivalent to a district or municipality shall be defined by law.
2. The number of Delegates to be elected from Mongolia and Tibet shall be determined by law.
3. The number of Delegates to be elected by Chinese citizens residing abroad shall be determined by law.

Article 28. Delegates to the National Assembly shall be elected by universal, equal, and direct suffrage and by secret ballots.

Article 29. Citizens of the Republic of China having attained the age of twenty years shall, in accordance with law, have the right to elect delegates. Citizens having attained the age of twenty-five years shall, in accordance with law, have the right to be elected delegates.

Article 30. The term of office of Delegates of the National Assembly shall be six years.

When a Delegate is found guilty of violation of a law or neglect of his duty, his constituency shall recall him in accordance with law.

Article 31. The National Assembly shall be convened by the President once every three years. Its session shall last one month but may be extended another month when necessary.

Extraordinary sessions of the National Assembly may be convened at the instance of two-fifths or more of its members.

The President may convene extraordinary sessions of the National Assembly.

The National Assembly shall meet at the place where the Central Government is.

Article 32. The powers and functions of the National Assembly shall be as follows:

1. To elect the President and Vice-President of the Republic, the President of the Legislative Yuan, the President of the Control Yuan, the members of the Legislative Yuan and the Members of the Control Yuan.
2. To recall the President and Vice-President of the Republic, the President of the Legislative Yuan, the President of the Judicial Yuan, the President of the Examination Yuan, the President of the Control Yuan, the Members of the Legislative Yuan and the Members of the Control Yuan.
3. To initiate laws.
4. To hold referenda on laws.
5. To amend the Constitution.
6. To exercise such other powers as are conferred by the Constitution.

Article 33. Delegates to the National Assembly shall not be held responsible outside of Congress for opinions they may express and votes they may cast during the session of Assembly.

Article 34. Without the permission of the National Assembly, no delegate shall be arrested or detained during the session except when apprehended in *flagrante delicto.*

Article 35. The organization of the National Assembly and the election as well as recall of its Delegates shall be determined by law.

Chapter IV

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Section 1. *The President*

Article 36. The President is the Head of the State and represents the Republic of China in foreign relations.

Article 37. The President commands the land, sea and air forces of the whole country.

Article 38. The President shall, in accordance with law, promulgate laws and issue orders with the counter-signature of the President of the Yuan concerned.

Article 39. The President shall, in accordance with law, exercise the power of declaring war, negotiating peace and concluding treaties.

Article 40. The President shall, in accordance with law, declare and terminate a state of emergency.

Article 41. The President shall, in accordance with law, exercise the power of granting amnesties, special pardons, remission of sentences and restoration of civil rights.

Article 42. The President shall, in accordance with law, appoint and remove civil and military officials.

Article 43. The President shall, in accordance with law, confer honours and award decorations.

Article 44. In case the State is confronted with an emergency, or the economic life of the State meets with a grave danger which calls for immediate action, the President, following the resolution of the Executive Meeting, may issue orders of emergency and do whatever is necessary to cope with the situation, provided that he shall submit his action to the ratification of the Legislative Yuan within three months after the issuance of the orders.

Article 45. The President may call meetings of the Presidents of the five Yuan to confer on matters relating to two or more Yuan, or on such matters as the President may bring out for consultation.

Article 46. The President shall be responsible to the National Assembly.

Article 47. Citizens of the Republic of China, having attained the age of forty years, may be elected President or Vice-President of the Republic.

Article 48. The election of the President and Vice-President shall be provided for by law.

Article 49. The President and Vice-President shall hold office for a term of six years and may be re-elected for a second term.

Article 50. The President shall, on the day of his inauguration, take the following oath:

"I do solemnly and sincerely swear before the people that I will observe the Constitution, faithfully perform my duties, promote the welfare of the People, safeguard the security of the State and be loyal to the trust of the people. Should I break my oath, I will submit myself to the most severe punishment the law may provide."

Article 51. When the Presidency is vacant, the Vice-President shall succeed to the office.

When the President is for some reason unable to attend to his

duties, the Vice-President shall act for him. If both the President and Vice-President are incapacitated, the President of the Executive Yuan shall discharge the duties of the President's office.

Article 52. The President shall retire from office on the day his term expires. If by that time a new President has not been inducted into office, the President of the Executive Yuan shall discharge the duties of the President's office.

Article 53. The period for the President of the Executive Yuan to discharge the duties of the President's office shall not exceed six months.

Article 54. Except in case of an offence against the internal or external security of the State, the President shall not be liable to criminal prosecution until he has been recalled or has retired from office.

Section 2. *The Executive Yuan*

Article 55. The Executive Yuan is the highest organ through which the Central Government exercises its executive powers.

Article 56. In the Executive Yuan there shall be a President, a Vice-President and a number of Executive Members, to be appointed and removed by the President.

The Executive Members mentioned in the preceding paragraph who do not take charge of Ministries or Commissions shall not exceed half of those who are in charge of Ministries or Commissions as provided in the first paragraph of Article 58.

Article 57. In the Executive Yuan, there shall be various Ministries and Commissions which shall separately exercise their respective powers.

Article 58. The Ministers of the various Ministries and the Chairmen of the various Commissions shall be appointed by the President from among the Executive Members.

The President and the Vice-President of the Executive Yuan may act concurrently as Minister or Chairman mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

Article 59. The President of the Executive Yuan, the Executive Members, the Ministers of the various Ministries and the Chairmen of the various commissions shall be individually responsible to the President.

Article 60. In the Executive Yuan there shall be Executive Meetings composed of the President, the President of the Executive Yuan, and the Executive Members, to be presided over by the President. In case the President is unable to be present, the President of the Executive Yuan shall preside.

Article 61. The following matters shall be decided at an Executive Meeting:

1. Statutory and budgetary bills to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan.
2. Bills concerning a state of emergency and special pardons to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan.
3. Bills concerning declaration of war, negotiation of peace, conclusion of treaties and other important international affairs to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan.
4. Matters of common concern to the various Ministries and Commissions.
5. Matters submitted by the President.
6. Matters submitted by the President of the Executive Yuan, the Executive members, the various Ministries and Commissions.

Article 62. The organization of the Executive Yuan shall be determined by law.

Section 3. *The Legislative Yuan*

Article 63. The Legislative Yuan is the highest organ through which the Central Government exercises its legislative powers. It shall be responsible to the National Assembly.

Article 64. The Legislative Yuan shall have the power to decide on measures concerning legislation, budgets, a state of emergency, special pardons, declaration of war, negotiation of peace, conclusion of treaties and other important international affairs.

Article 65. In the discharge of its duties the Legislative Yuan may interrogate the various Yuan, Ministries and Commissions.

Article 66. In the Legislative Yuan there shall be a President and Vice-President who shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Article 67. In regard to the election of Members of the Legislative Yuan, the Delegates of various provinces, Mongolia, Tibet, and of citizens residing abroad, to the National Assembly shall separately hold a preliminary election to nominate their respective candidates and submit a list of their names to the Congress for election. The candidates are not confined to the Delegates to the National Assembly. The respective number of candidates shall be proportioned as follows:

1. A province with a population of less than 5,000,0000 shall nominate four candidates. A province with a population of more than 5,000,000 but less than 10,000,000 shall nominate six candidates. A province with a population of more than 10,000,000 but less than 15,000,000 shall nominate eight candidates. A province with a population of more than 15,000,000 but less than 20,000,000 shall nominate ten candidates. A province with a population of more than 20,000,000 but less than 25,000,000 shall nominate twelve candidates. A province with a population of more than 25,000,000 but less than 30,000,000 shall nominate fourteen candidates. A province with a population of more than 30,000,000 shall nominate sixteen candidates.
2. Mongolia and Tibet shall each nominate eight candidates.
3. Citizens residing abroad shall nominate eight candidates.

Article 68. Members of the Legislative Yuan shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Article 69. The Executive Yuan, Judicial Yuan, Examination Yuan, and Control Yuan may submit to the Legislative Yuan measures concerning matters within their respective jurisdiction.

Article 70. The President may, before the promulgation or execution of a legislative measure, request the Legislative Yuan to reconsider it.

If the Legislative Yuan, with regard to the request for consideration, should decide to maintain the original measure by a two-thirds vote of the Members present, the President shall promulgate or execute it without delay; provided that in case of a bill of law or a treaty, the President may submit it to the National Assembly for a referendum.

Article 71. The President shall promulgate a measure presented by the Legislative Yuan for promulgation within thirty days after its receipt.

Article 72. Members of the Legislative Yuan shall not be held responsible outside of the said Yuan for opinions they may express and votes they may cast during its session.

Article 73. Without the permission of the Legislative Yuan, no member may be arrested or detained except when apprehended in *flagrante delicto.*

Article 74. No member of the Legislative Yuan may concurrently hold any other public office or engage in any business or profession.

Article 75. The election of Members of the Legislative Yuan and the organization of the Legislative Yuan shall be determined by law.

Section 4. *The Judicial Yuan*

Article 76. The Judicial Yuan is the highest organ through which the Central Government exercises its judicial powers. It shall attend to the adjudication of civil, criminal and administrative suits, the discipline and punishment of public functionaries and judicial administration.

Article 77. In the Judicial Yuan there shall be a President and Vice-President who shall hold office for a term of three years, to be appointed by the President.

The President of the Judicial Yuan shall be responsible to the National Assembly.

Article 78. Matters concerning special pardons, remission of sentences and restoration of civil rights shall be submitted to the President for action by the President of the Judicial Yuan in accordance with law.

Article 79. The Judicial Yuan shall have the power to unify the interpretation of statutes and ordinances.

Article 80. Judicial officials shall, in accordance with law, have perfect independence in the conduct of trials.

Article 81. No judicial official may be removed from office unless he has been subject to criminal or disciplinary punishment or declared an interdicted person; nor may a judicial official be suspended or transferred, or have his salary reduced except in accordance with law.

Article 82. The organization of the Judicial Yuan and the various Courts of Justice shall be determined by law.

Section 5. *The Examination Yuan*

Article 83. The Examination Yuan is the highest organ through which the Central Government exercises its examination powers. It shall attend to the selection of civil-service candidates by examination and to the registration of persons qualified for public service.

Article 84. In the Examination Yuan there shall be a President who shall hold office for a term of three years, to be appointed by the President.

The President of the Examination Yuan shall be responsible to the National Assembly.

Article 85. The Examination Yuan shall, in accordance with law, by examination and registration determine the following qualifications:

1. For appointment as a public functionary.
2. For candidacy to public office.
3. For practice in specialized professions and as technical experts.

Article 86. The organization of the Examination Yuan shall be determined by law.

Section 6. *The Control Yuan*

Article 87. The Control Yuan is the highest organ through which the Central Government exercises its control powers. It shall attend to impeachment and auditing and be responsible to the National Assembly.

Article 88. In the discharge of its control powers, the Control Yuan may, in accordance with law, interrogate the various Yuan, Ministries and Commissions.

Article 89. In the Control Yuan there shall be a President and a Vice-President who shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Article 90. Members of the Control Yuan shall be elected by the National Assembly, from candidates separately nominated by the Delegates of the various provinces, Mongolia, Tibet and Chinese citizens residing abroad. Each group of Delegates shall nominate two candidates. The candidates are not confined to Delegates to the Congress.

Article 91. Members of the Control Yuan shall hold office for a term of four years and may be eligible for re-election.

Article 92. When the Control Yuan finds a public functionary in the Central or Local Government guilty of violation of a law or neglect of his duty, an impeachment may be instituted upon the proposal of one or more Members and the indorsement, after due investigation, of five or more Members. Impeachment against the President or Vice-President, the President of the Executive Yuan, Legislative Yuan, Judicial Yuan, Examination Yuan or Control Yuan may be instituted only upon the proposal of ten or more Members and the indorsements, after due investigation, of one-half or more of the Members of the entire Yuan.

Article 93. When an impeachment is instituted against the President or Vice-President or the President of the Executive Yuan, Legislative Yuan, Judicial Yuan, Examination Yuan or Control Yuan in accordance with the preceding Article, it shall be brought before the National Assembly. During the adjournment of the National Assembly, the Delegates shall be requested to convene in accordance with law in extraordinary session to decide whether the impeached shall be removed from office.

Article 94. Members of the Control Yuan shall not be held responsible outside of the said Yuan for opinions they may express and votes they may cast while discharging their duties.

Article 95. Without the permission of the Control Yuan, no Member of the Control Yuan may be arrested or detained except when apprehended in *flagrante delicto.*

Article 96. No member of the Control Yuan may concurrently hold any other public office or engage in any business or profession.

Article 97. The election of the Members of the Control Yuan and the organization of the Control Yuan shall be determined by law.

Chapter V

THE LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

Section 1. *The Provinces*

Article 98. In the Province, there shall be a Provincial Government which shall execute the laws and orders of the Central Government and supervise local self-government.

Article 99. In the Provincial Government there shall be a Governor who shall hold office for a term of three years. He shall be appointed and removed by the Central Government.

Article 100. In the province, there shall be a Provincial Assembly which shall be composed of one member from each district or municipality to be elected by the district or municipal council. Members of the Provincial Assembly shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Article 101. The organization of the Provincial Government and the Provincial Assembly, as well as the election and recall of the Members of the Provincial Assembly shall be determined by law.

Article 102. The Government of areas not yet established as provinces shall be determined by law.

Section 2. The Districts

Article 103. The district is a unit of local self-government.

Article 104. All matters that are local in nature are within the scope of local self-government.

The scope of local self-government shall be determined by law.

Article 105. Citizens of the district shall, in accordance with law, exercise the powers of initiative and referendum in matters concerning district self-government, as well as the powers of election and recall of the District Magistrate and other elective officials in the service of district self-government.

Article 106. In the district, there shall be a District Council, the members of which shall be directly elected by the citizens in the District General Meeting. Members of the District Council shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Article 107. District ordinances and regulations which are in conflict with the laws and ordinances of the Central or Provincial Government shall be null and void.

Article 108. In the district there shall be a District Government with a District Magistrate who shall be elected by the citizens in the District General Meeting. The Magistrate shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Only those persons found qualified in the public examinations held by the Central Government or adjudged qualified by the Ministry of Public Service Registration may be candidates for the office of District Magistrate.

Article 109. The District Magistrate shall administer the affairs of the district in accordance with the principles of self-government and, under the direction of the Provincial Governor, execute matters assigned by the Central and Provincial Governments.

Article 110. The organization of the District Council and District Government as well as the election and recall of the District Magistrate and the Members of the District Council shall be determined by law.

Section 3. The Municipalities

Article 111. Unless otherwise provided by law, the provisions governing self-government and administration of the district shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the municipality.

Article 112. In the municipality, there shall be a Municipal

Council, the Members of which shall be directly elected by the citizens in the Municipal General Meeting. One-third of the Members shall retire and be replaced by election annually.

Article 113. In the municipality, there shall be a Municipal Government with a Mayor to be directly elected by the citizens in the Municipal General Meeting. He shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Only those persons found qualified in the public examination held by the Central Government or adjudged qualified by the Ministry of Public Service Registration may be candidates for the office of Mayor.

Article 114. The Mayor shall administer the affairs of the municipality in accordance with the principles of municipal self-government and, under direction of the competent supervising authority, execute matters assigned by the Central or Provincial Government.

Article 115. The organization of the Municipal Council and Municipal Government as well as the election and recall of the Members of the Municipal Council and the Mayor shall be determined by law.

Chapter VI

NATIONAL ECONOMIC LIFE

Article 116. The economic system of the Republic of China shall be based upon the *Ming Sheng Chu I* (Principle of Livelihood) and shall aim at national economic sufficiency and equality.

Article 117. The land within the territorial limits of the Republic of China, belongs to the people as a whole. Any part thereof, the ownership of which has been lawfully acquired by an individual or individuals, shall be protected by, and subject to the restrictions of law.

The State may, in accordance with law, tax or expropriate private land on the basis of the value declared by the owner or assessed by the Government.

Every land-owner is amenable to the duty of utilizing his land to the fullest extent.

Article 118. All subterranean minerals and natural forces which are economically utilizable for public benefit belong to the State and shall not be affected by private ownership of the land.

Article 119. The unearned increment shall be taxed by means of a land-value-increment tax and devoted to public benefit.

Article 120. In readjusting the distribution of land, the State shall be guided by the principle of aiding and protecting the land-owning farmers and the land-utilizing owners.

Article 121. The State may, in accordance with law, regulate private wealth and enterprises when such wealth and enterprises are considered detrimental to the balanced development of national economic life.

Article 122. The State shall encourage, guide and protect the citizens' productive enterprises and the nations' foreign trade.

Article 123. All public utilities and enterprises of a monopolistic nature shall be operated by the State; except in case of necessity when the State may specially permit private operation.

The private enterprises mentioned in the preceding paragraph may, in case of emergency for national defence, be temporarily managed by the State. The State may also, in accordance with law, take them over for permanent operation upon payment of due compensation.

Article 124. In order to improve the workers' living conditions, increase their productive ability and relieve unemployment, the State shall enforce labour-protective policies.

Women and children shall be afforded special protection in accordance with their age and physical condition.

Article 125. Labour and capital shall, in accordance with the principles of mutual help and co-operation, develop together productive enterprises.

Article 126. In order to promote agricultural development and the welfare of the farming population, the State shall improve rural economic and living conditions and increase farming efficiency by employment of scientific farming.

The State may regulate the production and distribution of agricultural products, in kind and quantity.

Article 127. The State shall accord due relief or compensation to those who suffer disability or loss of life in the performance of military or public services.

Article 128. The State shall give suitable relief to the aged, feeble, or disabled who are incapable of earning a living.

Article 129. While the following powers appertain to the Legislative Yuan in the case of the Central Government, they may be exercised by the legally designated organ if, in accordance with law, such matters may be effected independently by a province, district or municipality:

1. To impose or alter the rate of taxes and levies, fines, penalties, or other imposts of a compulsory nature.
2. To raise public loans, dispose of public property or conclude contracts which increase the burden of the public treasury.
3. To establish or cancel public enterprises, monopolies, franchises or any other special privileges.

Unless specially authorized by law, the government of a province, district, or municipality shall not raise foreign loans or directly utilize foreign capital.

Article 130. Within the territorial limits of the Republic of China all goods shall be permitted to circulate freely. They shall not be seized or detained except in accordance with law.

Customs duty is a Central Government revenue. It shall be collected only once when the goods enter or leave the country.

The various grades of government shall not collect any dues on goods in transit within the country, with the exception of tolls levied for the purpose of improving the waterways and roads, on vessels and vehicles making use of them.

The right to impose taxes and levies on goods belongs to the Central Government and shall not be exercised except in accordance with law.

Chapter VII

EDUCATION

Article 131. The educational aim of the Republic of China shall be to develop a national spirit, to cultivate a national morality, to train the people for self-government and to increase their ability to earn a livelihood, and thereby to build up a sound and healthy body of citizens.

Article 132. Every citizen of the Republic of China shall have an equal opportunity to receive education.

Article 133. All public and private educational institutions in the country shall be subject to State supervision and amenable to the duty of carrying out the educational policies formulated by the State.

Article 134. Children between six and twelve years of age are of school age and shall receive elementary education free of tuition. Detailed provisions shall be provided by law.

Article 136. In establishing universities and technical schools, the State shall give special consideration to the needs of the respective localities so as to afford the people thereof an equal

opportunity to receive higher education, thereby hastening a balanced national cultural development.

Article 137. Education appropriations shall constitute no less than fifteen per cent of the total amount of the budget of the Central Government and no less than thirty per cent of the total amount of the provincial, district and municipal budgets respectively. Educational endowment funds independently set aside in accordance with law shall be safeguarded.

Educational expenditures in needy provinces shall be subsidized by the central treasury.

Article 138. The State shall encourage and subsidize the following enterprises or citizens:

1. Private educational institutions with a high record of achievement.
2. Education for Chinese citizens residing abroad.
3. Discoverers or inventors in academic or technical fields.
4. Teachers or administrative officers of educational institutions having good records and long service.
5. Students of high records and good character who are unable to pursue further studies.

Chapter VIII

THE ENFORCEMENT AND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

Article 139. The term "law" as used in the Constitution means that which has been passed by the Legislative Yuan and promulgated by the President.

Article 140. Laws in conflict with the Constitution are null and void.

The question whether a law is in conflict with the Constitution shall be settled by the Control Yuan, submitting the point to the Judicial Yuan for interpretation within six months after its enforcement.

Article 141. Administrative orders in conflict with the Constitution are null and void.

Article 142. The interpretation of the Constitution shall be done by the Judicial Yuan.

Article 143. Before half or more of the provinces and territories have completed the work of local self-government, the Members

of the Legislative Yuan and of the Control Yuan shall be elected and appointed in accordance with the following provisions:

1. The Members of the Legislative Yuan: The Delegates of the various provinces, Mongolia, Tibet and of the citizens residing abroad, to the National Assembly shall separately hold a preliminary election to nominate half of the number of the candidates as determined in Article 67 and submit their list to the National Assembly for election. The other half shall be nominated by the President of the Legislative Yuan for appointment by the President.
   The Members of the Control Yuan: The Delegates of the various provinces, Mongolia, Tibet, and of the citizens residing abroad, to the National Assembly shall separately hold a preliminary election to nominate half of the number of candidates as determined in Article 90 and submit their list to the National Assembly for election. The other half shall be nominated by the President of the Control Yuan for appointment by the President.

Article 144. The Magistrates of districts where the work of self-government is not yet completed shall be appointed and removed by the Central Government.

The preceding paragraph is applicable *mutatis mutandis* to those municipalities where the work of self-government is not yet completed.

Article 145. The methods and procedure of helping the establishment of local self-government shall be determined by law.

Article 146. No amendment to the constitution may be made unless it shall have been proposed by over one-fourth of the delegates to the National Assembly and passed by at least two-thirds of the delegates present at a meeting having a quorum of over three-fourths of the entire Congress.

A proposed amendment to the Constitution shall be made public by the proposer or proposers one year before the assembling of the National Assembly.

Article 147. In regard to those provisions of the Constitution which require further procedure for their enforcement, such necessary procedure shall be determined by law.

(3) *Problem of the Communists*

The central problem in the internal politics of China today is that the Chinese Communists challenge the authority

of the National Government. They challenge it on the ground that it has no visible evidence of a mandate from the people. The present Government, on the other hand, feels that the Communists themselves have no more of a mandate from the people, if as much.

There is only one way that any party can receive such a mandate—and that is through a representative body of the people. Such a body was scheduled to be assembled within one year after the conclusion of the war. But with the recent internal developments the National Government has decided to call this assembly as soon as possible. Therefore, President Chiang Kai-shek on March 1, 1945, announced in Chungking that on November 12 this year a National Assembly or People's Congress would be called to inaugurate a constitutional Government, and that upon the inauguration of the constitutional Government all political parties would enjoy the status of legal equality.

The Chinese Government fully realizes the great difficulties of holding a national election at a time when a large part of the territory is under enemy occupation and by a vast population untutored in the art of election. But national unity is so imperative to speedy victory that the National Government has proposed the calling of a National Assembly as the best means of resolving the internal conflict. Without unity, we cannot fight effectively; without unity, we cannot preserve and defend our freedom and democracy.

During recent months the National Government has made certain proposals to the Communists to bring about national unity. The Communists have rejected all these proposals and in turn have made certain demands to which the Government is unable to agree. To all intents and purposes, the negotiations have broken down. The Chinese Government has hoped that the proposals would constitute a *modus vivendi* under which all political parties might co-operate in the coming months until a constitutional government could be evolved. Now that the Communists have rejected the proposals and seem unwilling to work out a *modus vivendi*, the Government has resolved to make a direct appeal to the people as speedily as possible. Which-

ever political party—the Kuomintang or the Communist—wins the largest following will receive the mandate of the people.

Why have the negotiations broken down, and what are the points of disagreement? The penultimate phase of the negotiations began after the arrival of Mr. Chou En-lai, representing the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, at Chungking on January 24, 1945. After three weeks of discussion with the Central Government leaders, Chou En-lai flew back to Yenan on February 16. Before his departure, a statement on the negotiations by Chou En-lai was issued on the 15th and given to the foreign correspondents in Chungking. On the previous day, February 14, Dr. Wang Shih-chieh made a statement to the press conference stating the Government's position.

Government's Proposals

The Chinese Government made a number of proposals, the most important of which were:

1. Granting legal status to the Communist Party;
2. Acceptance of Communist high-ranking officers as members of the National Military Council;
3. Permitting the Communists, as well as other party representatives, to join the Executive Yuan, forming a wartime Cabinet.
4. Establishment of a joint commission of three to consider the problem relating to the reorganization and provisions for the Communist Army. The Commission, in which representatives of the two parties would have equal footing, would be presided over by a high-ranking United States officer.

Communist Demands

Mr. Chou En-lai, in rejecting these proposals, declared that the talks had bogged down chiefly because of "the rejection by the Kuomintang Government of all proposals

concerning the establishment of a democratic coalition Government and a united commission for unifying all military forces in China, and for reforming political, military, economic, and cultural policies". Chou En-lai's position was endorsed by the Yenan authorities in a statement issued in Yenan on February 17, 1945, which reads in part: "As in previous negotiations, no agreement could be reached because of the Kuomintang's insistence on one-party dictatorship, their open opposition to a coalition Government, their anti-popular and anti-democratic attitude, and their plan to swallow up the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. Chou En-lai, therefore, flew back to Yenan on February 16."

Chou En-lai in that statement to the Chungking foreign correspondents on February 15 revealed the demands made on the Central Government by the Communists. He said: "Chungking has rejected the Yenan regime's proposals for (1) the establishment of a democratic coalition Government, (2) the creation of a united high command, (3) the abolition of one-party government. A three-party conference, comprising the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists, and the Chinese Democratic League (composed of minority parties) should be called to draft political plans."

The Kuomintang as Majority Party

There are three important points of difference; the Chinese Government and the Communists differ fundamentally in the conceptions of a political party, a coalition Government, and a united high command.

The Communists have demanded a coalition of various political parties equal in status and power. The Government takes the position that political parties may be equal in legal status but cannot be equal in power. In the experience of a democratic country such as the United States or Great Britain there is usually one party in power at a time—the majority party which has the support of the majority of the people. It is inconceivable to have two or three parties on the same footing and enjoying equal

power in any Government. Such a political arrangement would probably be quite impracticable and certainly most unstable.

It is true that the Kuomintang has since 1927 been the only legal party in China and has monopolized all political power. This singular phenomenon is based upon the theory of political tutelage which was developed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen as a transitional measure of interregnum device to carry China into its final phase of constitutional democracy. As soon as legal status is granted to all other political parties, political tutelage as such will come to an end and the Kuomintang will have to compete for popular support with other parties on equal terms. This does not mean that the Kuomintang may not remain the majority party for some years to come, with the Chinese Communist Party as a strong minority party enjoying equal status although not actual power.

During the latest phase of the negotiations the Government makes it clear that a dominant party is necessary to the stability of any multiple-party system of government and that the Kuomintang is, at least at the present moment, the dominant party in China. By every criterion the Kuomintang is the party that has the largest following in the country. Even the Communists could not seriously challenge this fact. The crux of the difference is then that the Communists have demanded not only the termination of the Kuomintang rule, but also the abdication of the Kuomintang as the majority or dominant party; whereas the Kuomintang is willing to allow the Communist and other parties to participate in the conduct of national affairs as minority parties, but does not intend to abdicate as the majority party or to surrender its power as such pending the establishment of a constitutional Government, In the words of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek: "The Kuomintang is the historical party of national revolution; it overthrew the Manchu Dynasty; it destroyed Yuan Shih-kai who would be Emperor; it utterly defeated the militarists that succeeded Yuan Shih-kai; it brought about national unification; it achieved the removal of unequal

treaties; and it led the country into the eight-year-old struggle against Japan."

Role of Majority Party in Coalition Government

The Communists have also demanded a coalition Government before a national election can take place. Their conception of a coalition Government is one in which the members are appointees of various political parties, responsible to their own parties and acknowledging no national leadership. It is therefore obvious that the Communists have a connotation for "coalition Government" quite different from the one generally accepted.

The Government could not agree to a "coalition Government" in the sense demanded by the Communists, but has proposed to invite leaders of the Communist and other parties to join the Government with a view to forming a War Cabinet in accordance with the generally accepted spirit of a coalition Government in older democracies.

There was a war-time coalition Government in Great Britain, as there was in the last war. Prime Minister Churchill invited leaders of the Labour and Liberal parties to join his Cabinet to reduce the unnecessary opposition to the war-time Government. The Conservative Party did not thereby surrender any part of the power and authority vested in the majority party. Labour members in the Churchill Government could resign singly or collectively without affecting the position of Mr. Churchill or his party, and in fact Prime Minister Churchill had the right to ask any member of his Cabinet—whether that member belonged to his own party or to the Liberal or Labour Party—to resign. The theory was that Mr. Churchill and the Conservative Party were responsible to the Parliament and the people, and the minority parties and their members were invited to join the Government as individuals and not as party nominees by right. In other words, a coalition is an expediency, generally temporary in character, and has no regular constitutional basis. If any serious disagreement arises in the coalition Government which cannot be resolved by individual

resignations or replacements, there is the Parliament which will decide whether it should continue its support for the existing Government. And, finally, there is always the recourse for the party in power to appeal to the people direct.

The coalition Government as demanded by the Chinese Communists is unacceptable to the National Government because it is an unworkable device for obvious reasons. In the first place, just as Edward Stettinius, Jr., or Henry L. Stimson was invited by President Roosevelt to serve in his Cabinet, so does every member of the Chinese Cabinet—General Chen Cheng, the present Minister of War, or T. V. Soong, the present Prime Minister—remain in office at the pleasure of China's Chief Executive. What sort of Government would it be if you had a Communist member appointed, say, to be Minister of Communications by his party who could not be removed or asked to resign by the Chief Executive? In the second place, if there were a disagreement between the Communist members and the Kuomintang members (disagreements do occur in public affairs), what would be the solution? There is as yet no parliament or congress to which the matter might be referred, and there is no machinery through which the Government might appeal to the people as a whole. In the third place, this kind of coalition Government—a loose combination of party leaders—would hardly be coherent or stable enough to cope with the criticial war situation.

Here is Generalissimo Chiang's pertinent comment on the issue: "We have even offered to include the Communists and other parties in an organ to be established along the line of what is known abroad as a 'War Cabinet'. To go beyond this and to yield to the Communist demand would not only place the Government in open contravention to the political programme of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but also create insurmountable practical difficulties for the country. . . . If the Government shirks its responsibility and surrenders its power of ultimate decision to combination of political parties, the result would be unending friction and chaos, leading to a collapse of the authority."

Reorganization of Red Army

Finally, the disposition of the Communist Army perhaps is the heart of the problem. The Central Government is most emphatic that national unity implies unity of command and the placing of all troops under the National Government. The Communists fear that the sole intention of the Government in insisting on a unified high command is actually to break up the Communist Army as an independent unit. The Government, however, considers that a unified high command is the only means to a proper co-ordination of war-time strategy. In such countries as the United States and Great Britain a unified command is taken for granted, and nothing short of it would be tolerated.

In order to persuade the Communists to agree to this proposal, the Government is prepared to go a long way to meet all the reasonable demands of the Communists. Up to the present, the Communists have not made any reference to or any commitment on the question of the reorganization of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. Mr. Chou En-lai's only reference to the point is that the Communists are not prepared to place the army under an American officer. "Without first abolishing party rule and changing military policy, which aims at eliminating non-Kuomintang troops, a reorganization of the Communist Red Armies under a three-man committee is still tantamount to handing these troops over to the Kuomintang Government."

The Central Government has placed so great importance on the question of a united high command that it has tried to meet all the legitimate political demands as well as to offer assurances and guarantees that the Communist Army will not be "eliminated". The only formula the Central Government can think of to give that assurance or guarantee is to ask an American officer to preside over the reorganization of and provisions for the Communist troops and to assume command of them, so that there would be no reason for them to think that the Central Government intended to have them immediately dispersed, weak-

ened, or made cannon-fodder by putting them in unfair positions in battle. It is difficult to see what else the Central Government could do. This, of course, is intended to be a temporary measure pending the convocation of the National Assembly or People's Congress, and the inauguration of constitutional government.

No one will deny that this is not the ideal time to hold a general election when a large part of the country was only recently freed from enemy occupation and the rest is preoccupied with the after-effects of the war. No one will deny the tremendous difficulties involved in a general election in a country which has never had any previous experience. As the Government has decided to meet "squarely the issues raised by the Communists", this is the only logical step open to it. We anticipate that there will be problems and controversies before and during the election. The only test is in the sincerity of the Government and people to evolve a system whereby the will of the people may be ascertained with some degree of certainty. It is unfair for the Chinese Communists and their supporters abroad to prejudge the attempt or experiment. The Chinese people do not think "this is merely dust in China's eyes or a manœuvre to gain time in Chungking's relations with the United States."

The *Ta Kung Pao*, the most respected independent daily in Chungking, expresses the considered opinion of all liberal-minded Chinese when it editorially welcomed President Chiang Kai-shek's latest address as a definite step on the road of political progress. The editorial concludes: "The National Government is still the centre of the entire nation, and the Kuomintang the leading party of the nation. The people want the Kuomintang to conclude its tutelage, but we do not want a coalition tutelage to succeed the Kuomintang tutelage. The Government has shown its patience and we hope the Communist leaders can take the attitude of true statesmen and continue negotiations with the Government to realize unity and solidarity."

NOTE.—Recently new negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communists have been initiated but it will be some time before any satisfactory issues can be expected.

POSTSCRIPT

CHINA'S ROLE IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

REFERENCE has already been made to China's devotion to the ideals of the League of Nations. She was an original member of that League and can claim that, throughout, she was its most loyal and consistent supporter. She invariably supported the strict application of sanctions against the aggressor, and even when the League failed to tackle and settle the Manchuria Incident, China's faith was not shaken.

In spite of her disappointments, China still held fast to her unalterable faith that only by international agreement honourably discharged could justice among the nations be established. She was, therefore, ready, when the new international organization for the preservation of peace was proposed, to join it and work with undiminished fervour for its success.

At Dumbarton Oaks, Dr. Wellington Koo said that China's desire to see the new international organization founded was the keener because China's past appeals and warnings had not met with the response they deserved. Loyal to her traditional sentiment of peace China firmly believed in the need of collective effort to ensure peace and security. Unity of purpose and the spirit of co-operation which succeeded in the joint struggle against tyranny and barbarism were equally essential in building durable peace. Justice and international law should be the criterion and the main task ahead was to promote cultural and educational co-operation among nations. (See p. vii.)

China has unique experience in problems of amalgamations of peoples, and her own history can show that she has always favoured negotiation on a basis of reason rather than recourse to arms. Her present outlook on international problems is well illustrated by the part she has played in the great conferences at Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton Woods and San

Francisco. Further, President Chiang Kai-shek has gone on record as saying:

"Among our friends there has recently been some talk of China emerging as the leader of Asia, as if China wished the mantle of an unworthy Japan to fall on her shoulders. Having herself been a victim of exploitation, China has infinite sympathy with the submerged nations of Asia, and towards them China feels she has only responsibilities—not rights." (Message to the Eleventh Annual *New York Herald Tribune* Forum on Current Problems, November 17, 1942.)

On another occasion he said:

"Whether we are going to win the peace depends largely upon whether the United Nations, especially the United States, Soviet Russia, Great Britain and China, who are bearing the major burdens of the war, could, before the end of the war, reach complete agreement of policy and build a concrete foundation for post-war co-operation."

Not one imperialism in exchange for another, says China in effect, but a completely new order.

China's relations with the Powers have been consistently friendly. Since the Republic China has advocated the "good neighbour" system. She has been steadily critical of overbearing attitudes and aggressive action.

On January 11, 1943, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek gave out a statement with the title "New Treaties: New Responsibilities". This was addressed to the Chinese armies and people and referred to the signing of the Sino-American and Sino-British treaties abolishing extra-territoriality and establishing equality between the national signatories.

But, said the Generalissimo, the feeling uppermost in the minds of the people should not be one of unconsidered satisfaction at the according of a right long overdue, but that of the new responsibilities which now lay upon the people to discharge honourably their obligations as equal partners in international affairs. To have secured an equal footing with Great Britain and the United States was not an end in itself; it entailed duties and obligations which China must never for a moment forget. She must be strong, united and determined; only thus could she fulfil her destiny.

The Generalissimo has not failed to make China's position clear as regards Thailand and India. China has great sympathy with all her neighbours; she sees their problems always in the light of her own. Having been in like case with them at different times, she has the ready comprehension which makes for sympathy, but also she sees the other side of the medal. Not all of one, nor all of the other. Understanding as well as sympathy must be mutual if it is to be effective.

It is clear to all objective readers of Chinese history that the Chinese people have been radically democratic from time immemorial. It was even laid down in the Confucian Canon that "the people were of first importance and the Emperor last". Some writers have even drawn parallels between this state of affairs and Western constitutional monarchy.

Life in China soon convinces the foreigner that Chinese innate feeling for democracy is deeper and truer than that of the so-called democratic West. The Chinese has an instructive realization of his power, his duties and his rights. This leads to an intuitive sense of justice which will not be denied.

Possessing such a background, China has much to offer the countries of eastern Asia in the newly constituted world of the future. Even as in the past she gave much to her neighbours, of culture, the arts, science and general leadership; so in the complex future which faces the world when aggression is done, China will have great treasure to dispense. It is no exaggeration to say that China's greatest role in the post-war world will be that of maintaining the peace in the Far East. China has suffered more from war, and more intensely during war, than any of the other belligerents; her present trials and sufferings, no less than her traditional love of peace, will ensure a greater safety in the future than the past has ever known.

China not only has her deep convictions on real values in human and international relationships, she has an infinite capacity for adjustment to new environments and circumstances. She is, therefore, well fitted to be one of the leading nations in the post-war world.

No less sure is China's touch in dealing with the thorny question of the settlement with Japan. China seeks no

vindictive revenge, much as she has suffered from Japanese megalomaniac sadism. Her ideas on the post-war treatment of Japan are constructive, eminently reasonable, and based on her traditional sense of justice and the fitness of things. Some of the leading members of the United Nations think China does not go far enough in her demands on the enemy; that she is predisposed to deal too gently with her vicious opponent.

None the less, high Chinese spokesmen persist in regarding Japan as a problem to be solved by calm deliberation rather than by passion. Japan must, as much for her own good as for that of the future of the world, be disarmed and suffer occupation for sufficient time to ensure that she has changed her ways, lost her old worship of force and realized that "divinity and invincibility complexes" are wicked shibboleths in an enlightened world. Japan must yield up the territories she has overrun and seized since she embarked on her scheme of world-conquest in 1895. The Japanese must be re-educated, and they must be kept on the right path thereafter by careful supervision over a reasonable length of time. Emperor-worship must give place to a proper sense of values in the modern world. In a word, Japan must be civilized.

It will be clear to the reader who has followed us thus far that China is under no illusion as to the difficulties still confronting her. Although Japan has lost the war upon which she embarked so lightheartedly (obvious even to the Japanese themselves), China realizes that her post-war problems are likely to prove even more difficult than her war-time tasks have been. She sees herself faced with the same problems as those which confront her Allies, but with far less material and industrial equipment to her hand. She knows that she must achieve incredible feats of reconstruction if she is to keep pace with her Allies; if, indeed, she is to discharge her responsibilities in the post-war world.

For this reason, China's leaders have made it clear that China must avail herself, for some years to come, of all possible foreign help in the way of capital and technical advice. China's technicians were indeed studying abroad

during the war years, but much more will be needed than they can supply on their return. Intelligent co-operation between fighting and flying men of the West and the East has accomplished much during the war years—in the post-war years such co-operation between technicians on both sides will be called for on a large scale. From one point of view, therefore, China is a land of promise.

It was frequently said during the bitter years of war that China would never lack three things: manpower, food, and the will to fight. It can be as truthfully said of the post-war China that she will never lack the moral stamina which has led her to take so prominent a part in its great conferences of Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco (see Appendices A and B). It is this moral stamina which is the greatest security China has to offer the post-war world. Her fighting spirit will be as valuable in peace as it has proved in war. The industrialists and financiers of the West will need China no less than China will need them.

The long history of China has held within its limits most of the experiences of humanity, from the idealism of a Golden Age to the excesses and brutalities of Fascism. China, for so long mistress of her fate and leader of Asiatic civilization, has produced philosophers who rank with Plato and Aristotle, Zeno and Chryoippus. The classical scholar from the West soon finds that he need not emphasize his points—the Chinese, somewhere at some period, have taught them and said them before. And just as during the dark days of the European War many highminded men sought and found consolation in the thoughts and poetry of their early classical tradition, so, too, in China there has been a realization that economic and industrial progress must go hand-in-hand with the life of the spirit. It is because China early learned the lesson that bread, clothing and cover satisfy only part of man's needs that she has endured so long. Perhaps, after all, in spite of the many material gifts China has made, and has still to make, to the West, her greatest gift will be in the world of thought; and who, seeing with unprejudiced eyes the state of Europe during the past three decades, will say that the West does not need to revise its thought?

APPENDIX A

AMENDMENTS TO DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSED JOINTLY BY U.K., RUSSIA, CHINA AND U.S.

THE delegations of the four Governments which participated in the Dumbarton Oaks conversations—the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, China and the United States—on May 5 submitted the following proposed amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals at the United Nations Conference:

CHAPTER ONE (PURPOSES)

The joint amendments consist of additions to Paragraphs One, Two and Three.

The affected paragraphs, as they stand in the original Dumbarton Oaks proposals, read as follows:

Paragraph One—"To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace."

Paragraph Two—"To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace."

Paragraph Three—"To achieve international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems."

These paragraphs, as revised in the amendments, are:

Paragraph One—"To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means and with due regard for principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlements of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace."

Paragraph Two—"To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights: and self-determination of peoples and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace."

Paragraph Three—"To achieve international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social, cultural and other humanitarian problems and promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex."

Chapter Two (Principles)

The amendments consist of additions and deletions to Paragraphs One and Three, and a new paragraph to be added following Paragraph Six, to take the place of Paragraph Seven in Chapter Eight, Section A, which would be deleted.

The affected paragraphs, as they stand in the original Dumbarton Oaks proposals, are:

Paragraph One—"The organization is based on the principles of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states."

Paragraph Three—"All members of the organization shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered."

These paragraphs, as revised in the amendments, are:

Paragraph One—"The organization is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its members."

Paragraph Three—"All members of the organization shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered."

The paragraph to be added after Paragraph Six states:

"Nothing contained in this charter shall authorize the organization to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlements under this charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of Chapter Eight, Section B." (Described in amendments to Chapter VIII.)

Chapter Five (The General Assembly)

Paragraph Six of Section B is amended by additions and deletions and a new paragraph is added to follow Paragraph Seven.

Paragraph Six, as it stands in the original Dumbarton Oaks proposals, reads: "The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare."

This paragraph, as amended, states: "The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in political, economic, social, and cultural fields to assist in the realization of human rights and basic freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex, and also for encouragement of the development of international law."

The new paragraph to follow Paragraph Seven states: "The General Assembly should examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned."

Chapter Six

The amendments make additions or deletions in Section A (Composition) and Section D (Procedure).

In the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, these two sections read:

Section A—"The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of 11 members of the organization. Representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and, in due course, France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect six states to fill the non-permanent seats. These six states should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen for the General Assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms."

Section D, Paragraph Two—"The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions, including regional subcommittees of the military staff committee."

Paragraph Five—"Any member of the organization not having a seat on the Security Council and any state not a member of the organization, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute."

Section A of Chapter Six as revised states: "The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of 11 members of the organization. Representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic

of China, and, in due course, France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect six states to fill the non-permanent seats, due regard being specially paid in the first instance to the contribution of members of the organization toward the maintenance of international peace and security and towards the other purposes of the organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

These six states should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms."

Section D of Chapter Six as revised reads:

Paragraph Two—"The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions."

Paragraph Five—"Any member of the organization not having a seat on the Security Council and any state not a member of the organization, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute. In the case of a non-member, the Security Council should lay down such conditions as it may deem just for the participation of such a non-member."

Chapter Seven (International Court of Justice)

The new amendment states:

"The provisions of Chapter Seven of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals should be adjusted to bring it into conformity with the recommendations of Commission Four in light of the report of the jurist's committee.

Chapter Eight (Arrangements for the Maintenance of International Peace and Security, including Prevention and Suppression of Aggression)

Under Section A (Pacific Settlement of Disputes) the amendments insert a new paragraph before Paragraph One, add to Paragraph Two, revise Paragraph Four and eliminate Paragraph Seven.

The affected paragraphs, as they stand under the original Dumbarton Oaks proposals, read:

Paragraph Two—"Any state, whether member of the organization or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council."

Paragraph Four—"If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Paragraph Three above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council. The Security Council should in each case decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and, accordingly, whether the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should take action under Paragraph Five."

Paragraph Seven—"The provisions of Paragraph One to Six of Section A should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned."

According to the proposed amendments, the following new paragraph would be inserted before Paragraph One of Section A:

"Without prejudice to the provisions of Paragraphs One–Five below, the Security Council should be empowered, if all the parties so request, to make recommendations to the parties to any dispute with a view to its settlement in accordance with the principles laid down in Chapter Two, Paragraph Three."

Paragraph Two of Section A, as revised, would read:

"Any state, whether member of the organization or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council. In the case of a non-member, it should be required to accept, for the purposes of such dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the charter."

Paragraph Four—"If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Paragraph Three above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Paragraph Five or whether itself to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate."

(The original Paragraph Seven would be replaced by the new paragraph proposed for addition following Paragraph Six, Chapter Two, Principles).

Section B under Chapter Eight (Determination of Threats to the Peace or Acts of Aggression and Action with Respect Thereto).

The amendments add to Paragraphs One and Two; insert a paragraph between Paragraphs Two and Three, and add to Paragraph Nine.

In *Paragraph One*, the first sentence would be changed to read ". . . made under Paragraphs Four or Five of Section A", (instead of ". . . made under Paragraph Five of Section A", etc.)

The other affected paragraphs, as they stand under the original Dumbarton Oaks proposals, read:

Paragraph Two—"In general, the Security Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security."

Paragraph Nine—"There should be established a military staff committee, the functions of which should be to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments, and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The Committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the organization not permanently represented on the committee should be invited by the committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the committee's responsibilities requires that such a state should participate in its work. Questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently."

As amended, these paragraphs would read:

Paragraph Two—"In general, the Security Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures set forth in Paragraphs Three and Four of this section to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security."

The following paragraph would be inserted between Paragraphs Two and Three:

"Before making the recommendations or deciding upon the

measures for the maintenance or restoration of peace and security in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph Two, the Security Council may call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it may deem necessary or desirable in order to prevent an aggravation of the situation. Such provisional measures should be without prejudice to the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned. Failure to comply with such provisional measures should be duly taken account of by the Security Council."

Paragraph Nine—"There should be established a military staff committee, the functions of which should be to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments, and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the organization not permanently represented on the committee should be invited by the committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the committee's responsibilities requires that such a state should participate in its work. Questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently. The military staff committee, with the authorization of the Security Council, may establish regional subcommittees of the military staff committee."

Chapter Nine (Arrangements for International Economic and Social Co-operation)

The amendments add to Paragraph One under Section A; add to Paragraph One under Section C and revise Paragraph One under Section D.

The affected paragraphs, as they stand under the original Dumbarton Oaks proposals, read:

Paragraph One (*Section A*)—"With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Responsibility for the discharge

of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and under the authority of the General Assembly, in an economic and social council."

Paragraph One (*Section C*)—"The Economic and Social Council should be empowered:

"B. To make recommendations, on its own initiative with respect to international economic, social and other humanitarian matters;

"C. To receive and consider reports from the economic, social and other organizations or agencies brought into relationship with the organization, and to co-ordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organizations or agencies."

Paragraph One (*Section D*)—"The Economic and Social Council should set up an economic commission, a social commission and such other commissions as may be required. These commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the secretariat of the organization."

As amended, the affected paragraphs would read:

Paragraph One (*Section A*)—"With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social, cultural, and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and under the authority of the General Assembly, in an economic and social council."

Paragraph One (*Section C*)—"The Economic and Social Council should be empowered:

(The following new paragraph would then be inserted).

"To make recommendations for promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;

"B. To make recommendations, on its own initiative with respect to international economic, social, cultural and other humanitarian matters;

"C. To receive and consider reports from the economic, social, cultural and other organizations or agencies brought into relationship with the organization, and to co-ordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organizations or agencies."

Paragraph One (*Section D*)—"The Economic and Social Council should set up commissions in the fields of economic activity, social activity, cultural activity, promotion of human rights and any other field within the competence of the council. These commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the secretariat of the organization."

Chapter Ten (The Secretariat)

The amendments would make an addition and a deletion in Paragraph One and add one paragraph.

Chapter Ten in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals states:

Paragraph One—"There should be a secretariat comprising a secretary-general and such staff as may be required. The secretary-general should be the chief administrative officer of the organization. He should be elected by the General Assembly, on recommendation of the Security Council, for such term and under such conditions as are specified in the charter."

In the proposed amendments, Paragraph One states:

"There should be a secretariat comprising a secretary-general, four deputies and such staff as may be required. The secretary-general and his deputies should be elected by the General Assembly on recommendation of the Security Council for a period of three years, and the secretary-general should be eligible for re-election. The secretary-general should be the chief administrative officer of the organization."

The added Paragraph, Number Four, reads:

"In the performance of their duties, the secretary-general and the staff should be responsible only to the organization. Their responsibilities should be exclusively international in character, and they should not seek or receive instructions in regard to the discharge thereof from any authority external to the organization. The members should undertake fully to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the secretariat and not to seek to influence any of their nationals in the discharge of such responsibilities."

Chapter Eleven (Amendments)

The proposed amendments insert another paragraph—One—and the existing text of Chapter Eleven becomes Paragraph Two. The proposed amendments also add a paragraph which becomes Number Three.

Paragraph One of the proposed amendments reads:

"The present charter comes into force after its ratification in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the organization having permanent seats on the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the organization."

Paragraph Three, Chapter Eleven, of the proposed amendments reads:

"A general conference of the members of the United Nations may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a three-fourths vote of the General Assembly with the concurrence of the Security Council voting in accordance with the provisions of Chapter Six, Section C, Paragraph Two, for the purpose of reviewing the charter. Each member shall have one vote in the conference. Any alterations of the charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the organization having permanent membership on the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the organization."

APPENDIX B

CHINESE TRUSTEESHIP PROPOSALS AT UNCIO

SAN FRANCISCO—The Chinese delegation at UNCIO on May 12 released the full text of its proposals on an international territorial trusteeship system to be integrated with the projected world organization.

The text of the Chinese proposals follows:

1. The organization should establish a system of international territorial trusteeship for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent agreement and to set up suitable machinery for these purposes.

2. The basic objectives of the trusteeship system should be:

A. To further international peace and security;

B. To promote the political, economic and social advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants, and their progressive development (toward independence) or self-government as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its people; and

C. To provide for non-discriminatory treatment in trust territories with respect to the economic and other appropriate civil activities of the nationals of all member states.

3. The trusteeship system should apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship arrangements:

A. Territories now held under mandate;

B. Territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of this war; and

C. Territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration. It would be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories would be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

4. Any territory belonging to one of the above three categories of territories may be administered either directly by the international organization through an agency of its own or indirectly by one or more of the United Nations by agreement of the states concerned.

5. The trusteeship arrangement for each territory to be placed under trusteeship should be agreed upon by the states concerned and should be approved as provided for in Paragraphs Ten and Eleven below.

6. The trusteeship arrangements in each case should include the terms under which the territory will be administered.

It should be understood that in the trusteeship arrangements as provided for in Paragraph Five above, the people of each territory should be accorded civil liberty and the right of representation in the local deliberative or legislative assembly.

7. Any violation of the terms of the trusteeship arrangements by the administering authority of the trust territory should be regarded as a matter of international concern and as such could be brought by any United Nation to the attention of the General Assembly or the Security Council, as is provided in Paragraphs Ten and Eleven below.

8. There may be designated in the trusteeship arrangement, as part of a general plan of international security, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the territory to which the arrangement applies. The extent of the area or areas so designated shall be the minimum required for defence and security purposes.

9. Except for defence and security reasons, the basic objectives as provided for in Paragraph Two above should be applicable to the people of each strategic area, due account being taken of the stage of their political development, the geographical position of the area, its economic conditions, and other relevant circumstances.

10. All functions of the organization relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the trusteeship arrangements and their alteration or amendment, should be exercised by the Security Council.

11. The functions of the organization with regard to trusteeship arrangements for all other areas should be exercised by the General Assembly.

12. In order to assist the General Assembly to carry out those functions under the trusteeship system not reserved to the Security Council, there should be established a Trusteeship Council which would operate under its authority. The Trusteeship Council should consist of specially qualified representatives, designated:

A. One each by the states administering trust territories; and

B. One each by an equal number of other states named for three-year periods by the General Assembly.

13. The General Assembly, and under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, should be empowered to require, consider and publish reports from the administering authorities, to accept petitions, to institute investigations, to make recommendations, and to take other action within their competence as defined by the trusteeship arrangements.

14. The administering authority in each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly or the Security Council should make an annual report to the General Assembly or the Security Council, as the case may be, according to Paragraphs Ten and Eleven, upon the basis of a questionnaire formulated respectively by the trusteeship council and the Security Council. A representative of the people of a trust territory not within the purview of Paragraph Ten above should be entitled to attend the meetings of the Trusteeship Council where matters relating to the particular trust territory are being considered.

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